National Anti-Slavery Standard.

SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, EDITOR. Without Concealment—Without Compromise. EDMUND QUINCY, JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, COR. EDITORS.

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Selections.

THE REV. EDWARD MATHEWS AND MR. JOHN SCOBLE.

The interest we feel in the Anti-Slavery Cause, and the desire of doing justice to those who are labouring in behalf of the slave, have induced us to publish a recent correspondence between Mr. Scoble, Secretary of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and the Rev. E. Mathews, Agent for the American Baptist Free Mission Society, relative to the authority of Mr. Henson, a coloured man, to collect funds for the Dawn Institute. The latter is an establishment for the instruction of fugitive slaves, in Canada West, under the present control of the Free Mission Baptists. Mr. Scoble maintains, and Mr. Mathews denies, that Josiah Henson is lawfully entrusted with this commission.

With these explanatory observations we leave the correspondence to speak for itself:

Sir—You have proposed in the *Morning Advertiser* of April 1, to meet me before a committee, and desire it to take place during the present week. I accede to the proposal. The short notice you have given me, prevents me from receiving documents, which I doubt not are now on the way, from the statement of Rev. Geo. G. Ritchie, the Corresponding Secretary of the American Baptist Free Mission Society, published in the *Morning Advertiser* of the 29th of March.

It will also prevent me from securing the attendance of my friend, Mr. R. D. Webb, of Dublin. But as Mr J. B. Estlin, of Bristol, who is now in London, Mr. Geo. Thompson, M. P., and Mr. William Farmer, have kindly consented to attend, having these friends with me, I will meet you on Tuesday, Wednesday, or Thursday, of the present week.

I have no desire you should limit your selection to any particular number, but the more respectable gentlemen there may be present, the greater will be my gratification.

You will oblige me by sending an early reply, directed to my address, 52, Borough-road, Southwark.

I am, sir, your's, &c,
Edward Mathews, Agent of the American Baptist Mission Society.

Mr. John Scoble, Secretary of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society—London, April 5, 1852.

Sir—Your note of yesterday's date reached me at three o'clock in the afternoon, in the midst of pressing engagements, which occupied my attention until a late hour; I was in consequence prevented from sending you an immediate reply.

You say, in answer to the proposals made by me, in my letter of 25th March, but which was not inserted in the *Morning Advertiser* until the 1st inst—"I accede to your proposal. The short notice you have given me, prevents me from receiving documents, which I doubt not are *now* on the way, from the statement of the Rev. George G. Ritchie, the Corresponding Secretary of the American Baptist Free Mission Society, published in the *Morning Advertiser*, of the 29th March. It also prevents me from securing the attendance of R. D. Webb, of Dublin."

1. On this I beg to remark that my first proposal to meet you "face to face before certain gentlemen who are well known to enjoy public confidence in this city," was made through the *Advertiser*, of the 6th March last. That meeting I endeavoured to bring about through the medium of a gentleman residing at Bath, who was understood to be your friend, but it failed, as I stated in my letter of the 25th of March, in which I said again, "I am prepared, and, indeed, am most anxious to meet him (Mr. Mathews) in the presence of his friends, provided they are such as enjoy an honourable reputation and common public confidence." You have, therefore, had ample opportunity of making necessary preparation for such a meeting.

But it now appears that you are writing, for certain documents from the Society which you represent, and to which reference is made, in the letter of Mr. Ritchie, dated York, March 1st, 1852, published in the *Morning Advertiser* of the 29th ult., and in which he says—"The Board of Trustees of this Society have ordered a preparation of a statement of facts in relation to the Institute at Dawn, to be laid before the British public. That statement is now in preparation, and may be expected soon." And you intimate that if the meeting takes place this week, you will be prevented from receiving, and of course, of using them, in support of the issues raised by you in your letters of the 23d February and the 17th March last.

I should be most unwilling to deprive you of any advantage you might derive from any "statement of facts," prepared by your Society; but I would remind you that my business is with you at present, not with your Society; and that I am to meet you on the issues raised by your published letters, and not upon matters, new or old, which your Society may think fit to prepare for circulation in this country. It will be sufficient for me to deal with this statement when it shall appear, which I shall most certainly do, if my own personal honour, or the real interests of the Dawn Institute should seem to require it.

2. You say that as "Mr. J. B. Estlin, of Bristol, who is now in London, Mr. George Thompson, M. P., and Mr. Wm. Farmer, have kindly consented to attend (the proposed meeting) I will be ready to meet you on Tuesday, Wednesday, or Thursday, of the present week."

I object to this nomination. First, with respect to Mr. Webb, of Dublin, referred to in a former part of this note, I beg to say he has publicly committed himself against Josiah Henson; secondly, Mr. Estlin is known to be personally hostile to me, and has fully committed himself also against Josiah Henson; thirdly, with respect to Mr. Thompson and Mr. W. Farmer, they are well known to be opponents of mine, and the latter has written for publication, and they have been published in the United States, insulting letters about me, I fear with the consent, if not at the instigation, of his friend, Mr. Thompson.

On these grounds I feel justified in refusing the nomination of these gentlemen to form part of the proposed investigating committee, and must be permitted to express my surprise that, with a knowledge of those facts, you could have proposed, or they could have accepted, the position to which you have designated them.

To obviate any further delay, I will meet you at any place in the City you may name, to-morrow (Wednesday), between the hours of ten and four, to agree upon a list of names of gentlemen of the class I have described in my letters of the 6th and 25th of March last, who shall be invited to take the matters at issue between us in charge.

I am, sir, yours, &c.,
Rev. E. Mathews. John Scoble.

P. S.—I wish you to understand that I write this, not as Secretary of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, but in my private capacity.

Sir—I have received your note of this day's date, in which you decline to meet me in a conference proposed by yourself.

The greater part of your communication is irrelevant to the arrangement for the discussion between us.

I beg to call your attention to the fact that in accordance with your professed desire of meeting me this week, I have, at some disadvantage to myself, consented to do so. I have named Mr. Geo. Thompson, M. P., and Mr. J. B. Estlin, of Bristol, to act as my friends on the occasion, together with Mr. William Farmer, who would report for the public the proceedings that might take place at the meeting. I have asked leave to have only three well-known friends of the slave with me, but have expressed my willingness that no limit should be placed to your selection of friends, but that "the more respectable gentlemen there may be present, the greater will be my gratification."

To these fair terms you object upon the ground that the gentlemen I have named are unfriendly to you. It is clear that you are unwilling to meet me upon conditions which every honourable man would decide to be fair and liberal.

You ask me to nominate other persons. I have no other friends but these gentlemen at present in London, and remembering the treatment I received from you last July, I will not again trust myself to hold any discussion with you, excepting in the presence of some of my English friends.

When these reasonable conditions are assented to, I shall be prepared to discuss with you the points on which we differ.

I am, sir, yours &c.,
Edward Mathews, Agent of the American Baptist Free Mission Society.

London, April 6, 1852.

J. Scoble, Esq.

27, New Broad-street, April 8, 1852.

Sir—Your note of the 7th instant has reached me. The public interested in the matters at issue must judge between us. My anxiety has been to obtain a competent and impartial tribunal, composed of honourable men, who enjoy public confidence, before whom the facts of the case might be seriously investigated, and on which their judgment might be recorded.

Your object is to have the questions in dispute submitted to the consideration of parties already committed in various ways, either on the questions themselves, or in the parties most deeply interested in them. It would be a violation of every rule of right to constitute such persons judges or jurors. There could and ought to have been no difficulty to your meeting me yesterday, to arrange a common list of gentlemen, in every way qualified to enter upon the proposed enquiry, in a dispassionate manner, with a view of doing justice to all parties concerned. The reason which you give for not agreeing to my proposal, even if it were true, which I utterly deny, is of no force under present circumstances. You might have brought any friend with you, as I should undoubtedly have done, to such a meeting. I therefore regard your alleged reason for not meeting me as mere evasion.

For my part, I should be quite willing to have any one gentleman of high character to appoint whomsoever he might please to go into the investigation, or to consent to put twenty names of honourable men into a bag, and take the first three or six that might be taken out to form the committee of inquiry; but if you will not submit to some such reasonable terms as these, I shall take it for granted that you dare not meet me, and that I must take some other means to counteract your unwarranted proceedings.

I am yours, &c.,
Rev. E. Mathews. John Scoble.

Sir—I am surprised at the receipt of your letter of yesterday's date, suggesting various plans for selecting gentlemen to investigate the facts of the case between us. You know that I have requested you to select any number of gentlemen yourself, the more the better shall I be pleased, while I have requested to bring only three friends with me to see that I am fairly dealt with, and to report the proceedings.

You have refused to meet my friends, and one of them is obliged to leave London on Monday. I am quite willing to leave it to the public to decide which of us it is that does not "dare" to meet the other.

I am, sir, yours, &c.,
Edward Mathews, Agent of the American Baptist Free Mission Society

London, April 9, 1852.

John Scoble, Esq.—(*London*) *Morning Advertiser*.

AMERICAN SLAVE-DEALERS.

[From a Cor of the (London) *Morning Advertiser*.]

We are enabled to lay before our readers copies from two documents that have come into our possession, which, though detailing transactions of hourly occurrence in the maritime towns of the Southern States of America, will send a thrill of horror through many a Christian breast in this country.

The first is an ordinary "Bill of Lading," of a brig about to sail from one Southern port to another; part of its cargo consisting of *human beings*—men and women, "made after the image of God." The second is a letter from a slave-dealer, who was selecting his merchandise in Virginia, to a fellow-trader in an adjoining State. We would give the latter document *literatim* did we not fear that, owing to its miserable orthography, it would be unintelligible. The only alteration we have made is in the spelling and punctuation, and sufficient will remain to exhibit the illiterate and low-minded sort of men who are engaged in this inhuman traffic. We have suppressed the names of parties and places, as well as dates, but all are in the original papers:

"Shipped in good order and condition by ——, on board the ship called the ——, whereof —— is master for the present voyage, now lying at the port of ——, bound for ——. Nine slaves, being marked and numbered, are to be delivered in the like order and condition at the aforesaid port of —— (the danger of the seas, deaths, and escapes only excepted) unto ——, or his assigns, he or they paying freight for the said at the rate of twenty dollars per head, without primage and average accustomed. In witness whereof the master or purser of the said vessel hath affirmed to three bills of loading, all of this tenour and date, one of which being accomplished, the others to stand void. Dated at ——, the 22nd day of Jan., 18—.

(Signed) "—— ——."

"To Messrs. —— and ——.

"Sunday, Sept. 21, 18—.

Sirs,—Inform you of the price of Negroes; they have declined in price, now selling low—say No 1 men at 850 and No. 1 girls 700; more sell under 700 called No. 1 than 700; women and children, no sale for them; not a single buyer of that kind, as there is no Southern buyers in this market at this time. Every one has bought their lot, and left this day for the South. Boys and girls 10 to 15 has declined as much as others. I bought a boy yesterday 16 years old and likely, weighing 100lb., at 700. I sold a likely girl, 12 years old, at 500. I bought a man yesterday, 20 years old, 6 feet high, at 850; one to-day, 24 years old, at 850, black and sleek as a mole. I think they will be lower in a week than now, as there is no buyers, nor no money to buy with, nor no persons coming in to buy, nor the banks will not discount for no man, except for Northern drafts. I think you can get some more drafts discounted on —— and ——, of Baltimore, about the first or second week in October. I will see the banks in a few days, and tell them I will want to pass a bill at 90 days for you. I ship ——'s negroes from —— on the 4th of October. I have the brig —— here to take my negroes, and ——'s, and yours from the shore, and to sail at any time I want to go; and now I think I will ship about the 10th of October, or a few days sooner or later—will want to go as soon as it will do, as I have the rise of a 100, besides your lot. The brig —— will sail from —— on the 10th of October, and that would be a good chance to ship your negroes. I want you to buy nothing but No. 1 negroes, as you will find plenty of them for sale, before you can get money. Don't pay out a dollar for an old negro, unless you get it very low, nor don't buy families, as there is not a single man here to buy such. Several lots have been taken back home from here, which was brought here for sale. —— is here with two men and one girl for sale; been here two days. I cannot sell the man you left here for more than 600 dollars. I will write to you when to bring your negroes over to ship. I think the 1st week, or 21 in October. I will meet you in —— when you come. I will go down on the brig ——, when she starts; will stop at the —— road, or you could come up here if you wish. Write to me by return mail, and say what you have to ship, and the kind of negroes, and give me the cost of each negro. You must put down the price on the shore, as you will have no opposition. I want you to put a lot of second rate and old negroes on your friend ——, and that will lay him up for the season, as he can't sell them here at this time. Negroes won't sell here till after Christmas. —— —— is not buying a negro; says they are too high. The opinion here is, they will be 750 for men, and 500 for girls, before money can be got here again. I will write to you in about a week, will say then when I will ship. Let me hear from you on receipt of this. "Your obedient servant,

"—— ——."

Now, be it known, that had the men engaged in these disgusting transactions made their purchases on the coast of Africa, and sailed thence to a slave-holding port in the United States, they would have been tried for piracy; and, if found guilty, would inevitably have been executed—so tender is the American Government to the rights of foreign Africans; but as the dealers confined their trade to the human productions of their native soil, they were permitted to select and purchase their cargo, to separate husbands from wives, parents from children, brothers from sisters—nay, even to buy from fathers their own offspring, and were not only free from the charge of piracy, but had their infamous vocation sanctioned by their government, protected by their laws, and consecrated by the patronage of Doctors of Divinity, and the professedly Christian churches of their land!

And while the minds of many of our readers are shocked by this glimpse into the cruel system of American Slavery, and by the inconsistency of a nation jealous of the name of *Christian*, let us take the occasion in justification of our frequent animadversions upon the unfaithfulness of the churches of America, and on the short-comings of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, to point out the numerous and almost insuperable barriers by which Slavery in the United States is guarded. The class of men now brought under our notice are essential to the interests of the slave-breeding and slave-buying States. They, as "part and parcel" of the institution, are rendered respectable in their calling by the Rev. Dr. Smythe, of Charleston, the Rev. Dr. Rice, and all the other ministers of the Southern States. Next, in the *free* States, we find the clergy (as represented by the Reverend Dr. Moses Stuart and Samuel H. Cox, &c.) fellowshiping with these Southern brethren in support of Slavery, and sending the Rev. Dr. Baird to maintain their cause in the Evangelical Alliance. In that assembly, the Rev. J. Angell James, with the full sympathy of the chairman, Sir Cullen Eardley, throws his mantle over Dr. Baird, and condemns Mr. George Thompson for his recent indefatigable Anti-Slavery labours in America. Dr. Baird also calls to his aid Mr. Gurney, a wealthy supporter of the Broad Street Society, and points him out as the type of Anti-Slavery men the slaveholders and their abettors would wish to have sent to the United States to convert them—a compliment Mr. Gurney had well earned by his support of the Colonisation Society, and by his speech at Exeter Hall on the 21st of July, when he cautioned the Broad Street Society to be "tender" towards the slaveholders. That this society has been very "tender" towards them, in avoiding all decided Anti-Slavery action, and in concealing from the British public the extensive operations of the "American Anti-Slavery Society," we have repeatedly shown.

By thus pointing out the chain of defences which surrounds the slaveholder's grasp on his human property, and shewing how its links extend to this country, we shall render the philosophy of the Abolition movement intelligible to our readers. The Abolitionist must pull down the nearest barrier interposed to keep him off from the slave, even though the obstruction be found in a professedly Anti-Slavery Society, or in a religious association.

This has been the unpopular course consistently pursued for the last twenty years by the "American Anti-Slavery Society," which, proclaiming the identity and equality of the human family, and that "immediate emancipation is the slaves right and the masters' duty," welcome to its platform, irrespective of theological or political creed, every sincere fellow-labourer who consents to act on these principles, and to exclude every other question; against all parties who attempt to lower this standard, by palliating the enormities of Slavery—by making excuses for postponing the Anti-Slavery warfare—or by devising subterfuges for exculpating those who neglect the Christian duty of engaging in it—the true Abolitionists profess uncompromising hostility.

No one who feels bound to assist in unclasping the fetter of the slave must be content with sitting down in his drawing-room, mourning over the suffering of the negro and the injustice of his oppressor, and praying that Providence would "undo the heavy burthen, and let the oppressed go free;" he must not flatter himself that by subscribing to the Colonisation Society (whose object is to sustain Slavery by expatriating the free coloured population, or by aiding a "Vigilance Committee" in the questionable kindness of encouraging slaves to escape; or by advocating a partial abstinence from the products of slave-labour; or by acts of charity to the freed slaves in Canada; or by condemning the harsh language or the theological opinions of Abolitionists,) he is doing anything to enlighten the conscience of the American people, or rouse the slaveholder to the guilt of his position. Still less must he suppose that he can take any useful part in this Christian work by avoiding all "controversy"—by shrinking from the necessity of finding fault with those who support and perpetuate Slavery. The Anti-Slavery cause is an incessant controversy and contest against an evil of gigantic magnitude; the instrumentalities by which the cruel institution is sustained—the defences by which it is protected—are not inanimate things, they are individuals and societies composed of individuals. If Dr. Baird come to this country to wheedle the Evangelical Alliance into fellowship with slaveholders, and Mr. J. Angell James welcome and applaud the mission; and Mr. Gurney, responding to the call for his help, bespeaks the indulgence of gathered thousands for the southern planter, and the Broad Street Committee helps forward these views, by obstructing and concealing from the public eye the efforts of the "American A. S. Society" (declaring that the "American & Foreign A. S. Society," known only by its name, is "one of the most important agencies in existence in the United States for the destruction of Slavery"), they must all be remonstrated with by British Abolitionists, and told of the injury they are inflicting upon the cause of the bleeding slave. From "controversy" the Abolitionists in America have no respite; and severe, indeed, to their moral courage and their social feelings, is the trial it inflicts on them; for, "of their own household," do they often find their greatest "foes." Conscience has compelled many of them to resign the spiritual guidance of ministers, the friends of their youth, and desert sanctuaries endeared to them by the holiest associations, rather than continue in communion with those who will not recognise the duty of emancipating the slave; they cannot cry peace, peace, where there is no peace; nor do they expect any cessation from their controversy, until the agitation they have excited has so shaken and converted the religious sects of all denominations in America, that a majority of her people have at last come to acknowledge the slaves' right to freedom. "The churches of America hold the key of the slave's dungeon; with them it rests to unlock the door."

EXPERIENCE OF A SLAVEHOLDER.

Upper Alton, Ill., April, 1852.

Mr. Z. Eastman: Dear Friend in Christ and Humanity—I should like to depict to you the horrors of one who was once a slaveholder; but, sir, I consider it is one of the impossibilities. What, sir, can be more horrifying to the repentant mind than to reflect that we have once held our brother man in the low degradation of Slavery? I was born and raised in the midst of Southern Slavery, and to use all or the most of my exertions to get money to purchase slaves, knowing that the more I owned, I would generally be looked upon with the more respect by the community. Therefore I used my might and means to add slave to slave, believing all the time that they should be treated mildly, and taught to read the Holy Bible. Although it was a criminal offence to teach a slave to read, nevertheless, when quite a youth, I refused to teach a choice class in the white's sabbath school, in order to teach the poor blacks on the Sabbath, by taking them to the silent woods, private houses, etc., how to read from primers, which I had purchased for them out of my hard earnings, and never could I see them cruelly punished without tears—shuddering at their miserable situation, and pleading for the stoppage of the cruel lash, and pledging myself to be their security for better conduct, yet many cruel tyrants would not hear to a word of sympathy from a man of feeling in favour of the poor black man; and if a man did not speak to them with harshness, he was generally looked upon with contempt. Behold the hardness of the life of the poor slave! But, sir, give a man the power, and you will generally see the tyrant, if it is only over a poor dumb brute.

After I came to years of maturity and settled in life, I found that I was hard to please, pettish, fretful and passionate among my slaves; and frequently I was in the wrong and to blame. My better half was ten times worse than I was, having been raised in a more cruel family. Our children began to grow up, and I feared they would be no better, and perhaps worse, than we were. I began to see the horrors of Slavery more and more, and was anxious to read about the fugitives in the free States—how they were doing, etc.; reports saying they were worse off than the slaves in the South. Persons passing my farm said my negroes would look up at them as they passed, and that they would sing while at their work—they wishing negroes to look cast down, to be too much cowed to sing, etc.; and they began to call me an Abolitionist, a name which I scarcely knew the meaning of; but when I examined into the definition of Abolition, I liked it, and wished to read about it. I had a Human Rights paper sent to me, which I liked and wrote for; but when it came I was near being mobbed. I was not allowed to take it out of the post office. A neighbour of mine caught a runaway man on my premises, whom he had recently purchased, and whom I had never seen to know. The consequence was, the master whipped his slave man to death, and was not punished for it. I was about to be mobbed on my premises. Rowdies would pass my house at the dead hours of the night, swearing, lashing and running their horses, as though they had some poor slave driven before them, under terrible lashings; but I was gratified afterwards to learn that they had no slave under the lash, but that it was all a sham to arouse my feelings for the oppressed. One cold snowy, freezing night, my coloured woman requested me to go into the kitchen to see a coloured man who had just come in. I went in, and, by questioning him, soon ascertained that he was a runaway, and belonged to a party of runaways who had fled from their masters in Georgia, and were trying to get back to their wives in North Carolina, from which place they had been purchased. He had separated from the others. Their masters, a few nights previous, had put up with me, watching the highways at night to catch them, and offering a reward. This young man said he was one of them, but that he had become so afflicted with cold and hunger that he could not travel any further. I had him put in a room to himself, with a good fire, with plenty of provision, and doctored for his cold, and soon had him well. I wrote to his master to come after him. My neighbours blamed me for not sending him to jail according to their corrupt law, where he might have died from the effects of his cold, the lash, etc., as runaways are generally lashed severely to make them tell who they belong to, and where they are from. His master came, paid me some $25, and took his slave, to whom I furnished a blanket. How my heart pained me to see this poor black man leave in chains! I tried to encourage him to look to his Maker for a friend, and that has generally been my advice to the poor slaves, knowing that they have poor friendship from their masters and the whites generally South. I have spent, since the reception of this $25 (the price of blood), several $25 in the cause of Abolition, and I hope and expect to spend several more in the course of time. The other coloured men were retaken in North and South Carolina, and had a desperate travel on their return, as I saw them again returning with bleeding heads. O Slavery! Slavery!

I finally sold out my farm and moved to Augusta, Georgia, where I had some months previously been threatened with a coat of tar and feathers from one slaveholder, and with vengeance from others, if I remained in the city one hour longer; but after moving there I was not molested. I wrote to a certain minister who had left Georgia several years previously for Illinois, in order to know how free coloured people had done as making a living in a free State, as I had never been in one. He wrote to me that they were much better off in a slave State, with a good master. I endeavoured to look out a good master and a Christian, whom I let have mine, he giving me a written obligation that I should have them back in six months if I should wish, which would give me time to go to a free State and see for myself. But before the six months were out, this particular friend sold those servants, and after a long suit I only received a few hundred dollars for them. My great object has been and now is to repurchase them; and my agent having failed to get them. I went South and made an effort to purchase them, and I offered enormous prices for them; but some refused to sell at any price, and others asked three prices; and they having wives, husbands and children, some of them were not willing to be separated. But, sir, if an opportunity offers, and they are willing to come to a free State, I will have them yet, if it should take the last dollar I can raise; for since living in a free State, and seeing the coloured man can do well if he will, I shall never be content while they are in bondage. And if I had only known before I left a slave State what I know now in relation to Slavery and Freedom, I never should have left them in bondage to any friend, church member, or good master. But alas! there is no Good Master but Christ, the blessed Redeemer, and may all obey Him forever. Amen.

—*Western (Ill.) Citizen.* J. W.

COLONISATION SCHEME.

SPEECH OF SENATOR MUNROE.

In the New York Senate.. April 3, 1852.

Mr. Munroe moved to strike out the enacting clause of the bill, and addressed the committee as follows:

Mr. Chairman—The opponents of the measure before the committee have based their objections principally on financial considerations, because the state of the treasury would not admit of the appropriation demanded in the bill. I must confess, sir, that this objection has not much weight with me, as I have no fears of the bankruptcy of the State, of which we have lately heard so much. I do not make this a question of dollars and cents. I am as much opposed to the appropriation of one dollar for the purpose contemplated in the bill, as that of $20,000, the amount proposed.

In making the motion to strike out the enacting clause, I did so because I believed there were pernicious principles involved in its provisions, which, receiving the sanction and adoption of the Legislature, would result in great detriment to the State. We are asked to embark on a course of policy entirely new in the history of our legislation—to grant our funds in advancing an enterprise that embraces measures and operations which are to be carried on outside of our territory, out of its jurisdiction, and beyond its control. The State hitherto, by attending to its own legitimate business, has prospered, and should be content at that; and a change of policy, in this respect, establishing a precedent of great importance, should be carefully examined and scrutinized, and though, as in the proposition before us, clothed in the guise of benevolence and humanity, if wrong, should be at once rejected.

Whether our National Government should adopt the policy of interference in the affairs of other nations, is a question on which there is abundant room for argument on either side; and that the State of New York, not in herself an independent power, but holding the constitutional relations she does to the General Government, should pursue a like policy, is quite another question, and one upon which there could be but one opinion. Yet, if Senators will examine the nature of the project before us, on the grounds upon which its advocates are pressing it for adoption, it will appear to be a scheme appropriating State funds for the purpose of interference in the affairs of other nations, to the extinction of the African slave trade. Yes, sir, New York is expected to sally forth on a Quixotic expedition to annihilate the foreign slave trade, and in the same act to give official sanction to the removal of a portion of the people of this State from its borders, because that portion is of the negro race. We have the doctrine of interference in affairs foreign to our State, more or less important and praiseworthy in relation to its particular object, just as different persons may judge. The idolaters of Kossuth will claim that an appropriation for the object of his visit to our shores is of the greatest importance to the human race; his opponents will insist to the contrary, and that this measure is of more consequence. Here would be a fair subject for dispute. But I apprehend the same principle would be involved, and no other, in both cases, or in any other measure of kindred character.

If, then, the State is to embark on such an enterprise, she must do so for one or both of the following reasons:

1st. It must be the same motive that influences any society, incorporated or unincorporated, to propagate its tenets—if a religious society, to enlighten and christianize; if political, to propagate into other nations principles or ideas of freedom—of civil liberty; or,

2d. For reasons of public policy in reference to the good of citizens of this State.

It will be generally admitted on this floor that nearly if not quite all the missionary efforts, that of the Foreign Mission, the Domestic, &c., &c., are in their various spheres accomplishing great good—are worthy of the support of benevolent men. All have their particular friends and advocates, as they are severally supposed to be objects worthy of support. The different religious denominations are divided in sentiment in regard to these societies—the Presbyterians favouring this, the Methodists that, and so on.

Now, sir, the honourable Senator from the 5th (Mr. Beekman) has become deeply interested in the Colonisation Society. He tells us his whole heart is in it. Although I cannot agree with him in regard to this Society, as to the benefit it confers on the coloured race in this country, I do believe he is a friend to that race, because he gave his vote to recognise their humanity—their right to share in the privileges of civil government, which is not denied to any other citizens of this State, however vile, debased or degraded. The honourable Senator, as an advocate of this Society, gave us a vivid picture of the evils of the foreign slave trade. He read extracts from various documents showing its barbarities and made out his case that his cause was worthy of consideration, and I will admit, for the sake of the argument, deserving of pecuniary aid. In turn, any Senator particularly favourable to any other of the benevolent enterprises of the day, might read from their records accounts of the horrors, the cruelties, of heathenism, and ask aid for foreign missions. The Senator from the 10th (Mr. Pierce), who is accused of Abolition tendencies, might make an able argument in favour of the Mendi Mission, or perhaps descant upon the iniquities of the *internal* slave trade, though this is rather dangerous ground to tread upon, being too near home. The Senate Chamber might be mistaken for a Church, where the claims of such societies are generally urged, instead of a room where was sitting a co-ordinate branch of the Legislature of a great State. And the illusion I imagine would be complete, if the advocates of these different enterprises were to speak from the President's position, which would serve very well for a pulpit.

All these classes of charitable societies rest upon the same basis—all, we will suppose, have alike, an equal claim for our support. All have their various organizations to carry out their views, to solicit pecuniary means in advancing their purposes; all have the opportunity of presenting them to a liberal and sympathizing—a judicious and discriminating public, for support. The Colonisation Society stands with all these an applicant for favour; and, if worthy, I have no fears but that it will have its share in the general contribution. If not, if condemned by the public, certainly it could appear here, either in a new organization or another form, with no countenance whatever. All these various religious enterprises must, from the very nature of the case, now and hereafter, be sustained or abandoned according to the judgment of the community, of individual opinion. The public are the safest judges—their verdict is conclusive upon them; if right they will give their money; if wrong, withhold it. With the public let them remain. The interference of the Legislature, discriminating between them, would be unjust, because partial and unequal, legislation; would excite jealousies and animosities between different sects and denominations; or, if liberal appropriations were made to all, which no one desires, would exhaust the Treasury of the State already committed to the various literary and eleemosynary institutions within her borders. Dependence upon the support of public opinion is the only effectual restraint upon a professed work of benevolence. It is only while they draw their funds from the sympathies and convictions of individuals, that these societies feel any such responsibility for their use of money as secures a faithful appropriation of the large amounts which such remote and extensive operations require.

If this bill, then, cannot be defended on the ground that it is a benevolent and religious measure, which it purposes to advance, it remains to be seen whether there are any reasons of public policy in reference to the good of the people of the State, which may be urged for its support. Here is a class of individuals, numbering about 47,000 persons. It is proposed to remove from the State and at its expense some 200 or 300 of them, through the agency of this Colonisation Society. The most natural question that would be asked immediately, for what good, for what reason? Certain European Governments, the English, for instance, transport a large number of their inhabitants at public expense. They only do so, I believe, however, as a punishment for crime, and no crime is charged upon our coloured population. It is not because they are unable to take care of themselves—because they are paupers. This society want virtuous, intelligent and industrious people. The only reason I have heard given is, because they are denied in this State social and political advantages. Because the great State of New York, in common with so many other States of this Union, have refused to extend to them the elective franchise on the same terms as other citizens, and choose to keep them in a state of servility and degradation, it therefore, follows that they must be removed from the country. Because we do one wrong act, we must follow it by doing another, as an excuse for the first. But we are told there is no compulsion in the case. True, it is a fair bargain; every man that goes, is to receive his reward. But it recognises this abominable principle, that if a portion of the State desires to get rid of certain of its inhabitants, no matter how honest or virtuous, or how much attached to their native soil they may be, a tax may be levied upon the State and funds raised to accomplish this object, and for no reason whatever except that these obnoxious inhabitants are of a different complexion. So the Indians have been dealt with in certain parts of this country, under a desire, a plea for their good, and after their consent first had and obtained in some form or other; and I had supposed the procedure and the principle was universally execrated. I make no charge against this Liberian Association. It may be more philanthropic and disinterested in this matter of transportation than were the speculators, who induced, through the agency of our Government, the Indians to remove beyond the Mississippi. There seems to be connected with it, however, some pecuniary speculation.

But, sir, do the interests of the white population of this State require the adoption of the proposed measure? From the returns of the census, it appears that the numbers of the coloured people are decreasing. Now, if this is an evil, certainly a project to make this number still less could only add to the present calamity. The absurdity of the proposition is so apparent that I need not dwell upon it. Well, sir, are they a burden, a tax upon our authorities in a greater ratio than our white population? I have no statistical information upon this point as respects our country towns. As far as my experience and observation extend, coloured paupers are scarcely ever seen. The ratio, I am quite sure, would be to the credit of the coloured man. Suppose we allowed the city of New York to decide this question for the whole State. I take the following statement.

By the second annual report of the Governors of the Almshouse of New York, for the year 1850, it appears that there was expended by them during that year—

For the poor generally	$306,652 60
For the coloured poor, to wit:	
The Coloured Home	$7,633 58
Coloured Orphan Asylum	2,607 13
Total	$10,170 71

The Coloured Home and Orphan Asylum contain all the coloured poor dependent on the public support, with very few exceptions. From the above, it seems that one-thirtieth of the amount expended, has been for the coloured poor. In New York City, the coloured population to the white, fairly estimated, is as 1 to 26; hence the coloured population of that city are 25 per cent. less burdensome than is the white population to the poor fund.

This statement shows them more willing and able to work, and, in fact, taking better care of themselves, in proportion to their number, than the white population. They are, therefore, no burden, and as such, there is no argument in favour of their removal; and, sir, I maintain that they are, as a class, as submissive to the laws of the land, as peaceful citizens, as useful in their varied pursuits in life, however humble they may be, in their different occupations, trades and professions. Ignorant and degraded some are. Truth compels us to acknowledge that; but they are not more so than very many white persons. Debasement, vice and crime is not confined to colour. On the other hand, they comprise a great number of enterprising and flourishing people.—From the address of the Convention of Coloured People, held in this city, I read as follows:

The cities of New York, Brooklyn and Williamsburg contain more than the third of the entire coloured population of the State. A hurried investigation, in which many instances have been overlooked, and all the estimates have been overlooked, and all the estimates rendered low, shows that coloured persons have invested in business carried on by themselves—

In New York City	$765,000
In the city of Brooklyn	79,000
In the city of Williamsburg	4,900
Total	$848,9000

And that, apart from business, coloured persons held real estate, deducting incumbrances:

In the city of New York	$783,000
In the city of Brooklyn	276,000
In the city of Williamsburg	151,000
Total	$1,160,000

And these sums are distributed among a large number of individuals, engaged in business or holding real estate, no account being taken of personal property.

Twenty years ago, the same class held in these cities:

Real estate	$350,000
Business investment	541,000
Total	$891,000

That is to say, while this population has increased twenty-five per cent, its wealth has increased one hundred per cent.

There is fair reason to believe that, under equal laws, even though not embracing the right of suffrage, under the protecting care of the State, our coloured population, if suffered to remain without molestation, will continue to improve in their condition, and surmount to a certain extent the prejudice that surrounds them. I am unable to see how our citizens are to be benefitted by the passage of this bill.

But, sir, it is claimed and urged as a measure for the welfare of the coloured man. Let us see with what reason. Why is it, Mr. Chairman, that upon the proposition to send from this country a particular class of persons, an instinctive sense of danger pervaded that whole class, instinctive opposition was manifested on all sides? Their most influential men—their leaders—their advisers—took ground against it. The project raised an excitement that called them together in conventions to remonstrate against it. Surely, in a matter pertaining to their interests, of such vital importance to their welfare, they may be their own judges. If having been born here, and feeling, in spite of wrongs done them, that this is their home; if they believe that transportation to Africa is banishment, is exposure to disease and death, why is a scheme of this kind, so abhorrent to their feelings, pressed? If it be the province of a Society, who operate from private contributions, to persuade their coloured brethren away from their homes and friends, and leading men have this to contend against, as an evil attempted to be inflicted upon their race, surely they may well complain when the Legislature of the State shall, by taxing the people, contribute funds, and with all the power of a legal enactment, enter the lists against them. This unfortunate people protest against any such action. They ask for no appropriation in their behalf—they desire no aid from the State. They feel that the crime committed in depriving their forefathers of liberty, bringing them to this country and reducing them to Slavery, is rendered blacker and deeper, that now, after regaining that liberty, an attempt is made to remove them from their present home, as dear to them, being the land of their birth, as Africa was to their forefathers.

They pray this Legislature not to unite with the Colonisation Society under any name against them. Indeed, why should the State be called upon to interfere? The Society has already made its appeals and secured the co-operation of those who approve its efforts. With so great a repugnance among the blacks to avail themselves of aid for this purpose, scarcely any of them would be induced to accept such a provision should it be made. The contributions of the friend of the Colonisation scheme in this State would remove ten times the number that can by every appliance be persuaded to go. One effect of such an enactment must be to enable the Society to apply the private contributions, which may be made within the State, to other aspects of their work. And for this purpose, they ask that those who distrust their agency, and disapprove of their principles, should be taxed to enable them to go on with their enterprise. And should it be considered, that this is to be added on the coloured people themselves, to accomplish what they consider an injustice; and is to be entrusted to hands which they consider hostile to all their highest rights. Their opinions of that Society are expressed in the resolution unanimously passed, in the Convention before referred to, as follows:

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Convention, the highest object of the Colonisation Society of America is to remove a large, increasing, and improving free population, that they may hold our brethren the more quietly and securely in bondage.

Sir, if the Colonisation Society and its branch, its adjunct, if I may so style this Liberia Association, while professing philanthropic intentions, were content to depend upon private donations for support, I should be going out of my way to say aught against it: but when it comes into this Senate for aid, it is right, it is duty, to inquire into its merits—its claims for support. Coloured people, for whose, and whose only benefit, it professes to act, may be prejudiced against it. Surely, if indeed these prejudices were unfounded, time and truth ought long since to have removed them instead, as I believe the fact is, to have increased and confirmed them. The presumption is, they are well founded. The objects of the parent Society and their designs, as set forth by themselves, are as follows:

To rescue the free coloured people of the United States from their political and social disadvantages.

To place them in a country where they may enjoy the benefits of free government, with all the benefits it brings in its train.

To spread civilization, sound morals, and true religion throughout the continent of Africa.

To arrest and destroy the slave trade.

To afford slave owners, who wish or are willing to liberate their slaves, an asylum for their reception.

Here are holy objects—high sounding professions. I will only remark in passing, that this Society has been in existence thirty-six years—that after expending over $2,000,000, its colonies number about 7,000 persons; and during all this time, by the admission of one of its advocates on this floor, the foreign Slave trade has been constantly increasing. So much for the potency of this Society in destroying that trade. Whether it had succeeded better in other respects was not stated.

But, sir, what the professions or objects of any

man, and consequently to inflict upon him all the cruelties connected with and consequent on such a condition. The whole the cry of Colonisation is an assent to and founded upon the incapacity, the unfitness of thecoloured man to our institutions. For, admit the contrary, and there is not a solitary reason in favour of his expatriation, any more than that of the white man. The constant promulgation of this sentiment throughout the length and breath of the land, creates, increases, and continues, the prejudices, only too common among the whites against the blacks: dispirits and discourages the latter in their efforts to advancement and improvement—removes them farther and farther from an acknowledgment of those inherent rights which are so universally and eloquently claimed in this country for our own, but so universally denied to the coloured people. Born, reared and educated their whole lives, to believe in their own inferiority, it is the office of the Colonisation Society, their professed friend, to impress indelibly this sentiment upon them, and also upon their oppressors.

The teachings of the Society are the sentiments of the slaveholders, and are in harmony with their interests, else it would be by them immediately denounced and cast off; and thence it comes about that Slavery is the propelling force, the power of the colonisation scheme, reaching into the free States to the liberal and benevolent for aid, and, as the finale of its policy of selfishness and cunning, asks this free State to recognise its principles by an appropriation of its funds. It is through the medium of this Society that New York is expected to sanction Slavery, or at least certain measures adopted for its security which are odious to the great majority of our people, and that not by a declaratory resolution, but by the most emphatic action that can be devised, to wit, aiding in the work as an ally of the slaveholding States to strengthen the bonds of the slave. Is it to be wondered at that under such a state of things, a few blacks can here and there be found who, despairing of any change in their condition here, should consent, as a last resort, to emigrate? Is it to be wondered at that the unanimous sentiment of the coloured population is against it, and that they should regard the Colonisation Society as their worst enemy, and should memorialize this Legislature against its encouragement?

2. Colonisation tends to confirm the internal slave trade. It is an established principle in political economy that the price of an article is governed by the demand and supply. If positive prohibition is made against the importation of any article of merchandise into this country, which could be produced here, the tendency of that prohibition would be to enhance the value of that article, and make trade in it more expensive. The suppression of the foreign slave trade gives activity, system, extent and profit to the domestic slave trade. The Northern Slave States are particularly interested and benefitted, for here the raising of slaves for a more Southern market is more profitable than any other business. I never could give the South credit for hostility to the foreign slave trade, on account of principle; for, deprive that trade of its most revolting features, by making it a legitimate business—divest it, by legal enactment, of the barbarities of the middle passage—provide the same comforts to the captured on their transportation here which are, from interest, secured to the slave, and there is no difference in the violation of natural rights between the two systems, and make one as profitable as the other, and the privilege of embarking in it would be as fully claimed by the South. In proof of this assertion I have only to refer to their action in late years and their present position. To extend Slavery and provide a market for slaves, we went to war with Mexico, and now, rather than fail in accomplishing the object of that war, they declare this Union shall be severed. And yet we are expected to believe that these Southern States are, from the dictates of humanity enlisted in colonisation; that on account of their horror of the slave trade, the cruelties of the middle passage, and for the purpose of christianizing Africa, they are making lavish appropriations of their State funds. We have a fugitive slave act for the capture of runaway slaves at the North, got up by the South to make us *particeps criminis*, aiders and abettors in the internal slave trade. It is the law of the land, and as such, being good citizens, we are bound to submit. And now, as an accompaniment, we have urged upon the Legislature of this State, from the same source, through the same influence precisely—this truckling for Southern trade, whether in politics or merchandise—a scheme for the capture of free blacks, not to be sent South, but across the ocean to Africa. I say, capture, not by police, forcible seizure (we have not come to that yet, but are making rapid progress towards it), but by rewards, taking the money of the people therefor, by the enticements, the allurements of Liberia, which, if the accounts of colonisationists are true, is a perfect Elysium, but which accounts, according to the testimony of Dr. Bacon and others, once members of this colony, are grossly exaggerated and entitled to but little credit. Here at the North is a barter for free blacks connected with the system of Southern Slavery, in which we are expected to act our part. Other free States, to their disgrace be it said, have preceded New York, are ahead of us in the race of hunting down, exterminating, or at least driving out of the country, the coloured people. We are called upon to join in the chase in this detestable work of the Slave States. Under the auspices of this Society, professing its object to be, as I before said, to destroy the foreign slave trade and christianize Africa, we are to strengthen the bonds of the slave at home, and confirm the domestic slave trade. Surely, under such high and holy professions, with such tendencies and results, it may well be said of the Colonisation Society that it

> "Steals the livery of heaven
> To serve the devil in."

When it shall condemn, when it shall in a single instance raise its voice to denounce the domestic slave trade, it will give some evidence that its sympathies and principles are on the side of the oppressed. Until then the coloured population will believe it is in the interests of their oppressors, and is their agent, whose support and assistance it prefers above the most sacred rights of humanity.

3. To give security to the system of Slavery in this country.

The presence of free coloured men in the slaveholding States is probably the source of great danger to the slave system. It is constantly reminding the slave there is such a thing as freedom for the coloured man. To remove or lessen this danger, most oppressive laws are enacted in regard to free blacks. For trivial offences, they are seized and sold into Slavery. Even in the absence of offence, if without free papers, they are often enslaved. Their condition is constantly and desirably made intolerable, that it may not be desirable even for the slave.* Penal laws are passed against their entrance into the State from without Yet all these provisions are not sufficient to expel them from the State. Hence colonisation is resorted to, and the Colonisation Society is made the instrument to remove the danger. Hence it is supported and sustained by the slaveholder and the Legislatures of slaveholding States. Even this remedy is not enough for the imminency of the danger. It is proposed in the State of Virginia to expel every free coloured person from its borders. Such is the blight, the enormity of Slavery, that its influence is felt to a powerful degree in the free States, causing the enactment of laws most unjust and oppressive to this race. The sentiments, opinions and feelings of slaveholders, which a few years since were their characteristics and solely confined to them, seem to have found a lodgment in the free States, and the design would seem to be that in all else than being in fact slaveholding States, we are to become the oppressors, the haters of the coloured man, to as great an extent as the slaveholders themselves. How much the Colonisation Society has to do in producing this state of things, let those who are now asking for its influence and assistance to carry out its principles, let the people of this State, whose honour and justice is involved in the question, and let Senators whose votes are asked to sustain the measures before us, take it into serious consideration. If it cannot be defended as a benevolent institution, and the appropriation sought for be made on this ground alone, or if this bill is not for the highest interests of the white or coloured population of the State, then let it be rejected. I know that connected with the New York Colonisation Society, as officers and supporters, are men of high character and reputation, eminent divines and statesmen, who are sincere and honest in their convictions on this subject, and I know, too, that men of equal reputation and standing, all over the South, are the apologists of Slavery, its advocates, are themselves slaveholders. Great names have been, in times past, and are now, the bulwarks of American Slavery. This, at the North, is not a valid defence of its justice. Let the question before the Senate be decided on its its intrinsic merits.

It becomes the honour and dignity of the Empire State to protect the interests of its coloured population. A weak, a dependent, a persecuted race, let here be an example of generosity and magnanimity in their behalf; they are a part of our own people, and here is their home. The dictates of humanity, every principle of right, forbid any action at our hands which would officially sanction, or commit this State to, any scheme for their expatriation.

* A recent argument of Dr. D. Drake, of Cincinnati, published at length in the *National Intelligencer*, shows that much of the hostile feeling in the North towards Slavery arises from this oppressive legislation towards those whom a kind or conscientious master is sometimes disposed to emancipate They are compelled to leave their home, abandon their friends and relatives, and enjoy freedom only among strangers in the cold climate of the North. They come North, therefore, with minds embittered against Slavery and the slaveholder, and then spread wide through society here the burning story of their wrongs and sorrows. The remedy which he proposes, in order to calm Northern excitement, is for the slave States to keep their emancipated blacks at home.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

*** *All communications for the paper, and letters relating to its pecuniary concerns should be addressed to* SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, *New-York.*

†† *Donations to the Treasury of the* AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY *may be forwarded to* FRANCIS JACKSON, *Treasurer, at Boston; or to* SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, *New-York.*

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MAY 13, 1852.

DEATH OF ISAAC T. HOPPER.

WERE the mortal remains of our venerated friend to be followed to the grave by a procession composed alone of the grateful men and women who, through his personal efforts, have been redeemed, or assisted to escape from bondage, it would be composed of a concourse of more than A Thousand People. The close of a life illustrated by the many deeds of heroism, of humanity, of self-sacrifice, and of daring, which such a fact involves, is an event in the history of the Anti-Slavery Cause; and were our ways altogether the ways of the world, our columns today would be shrouded in those dark and heavy lines which mark the occasion of public grief for the death of a great and good man. It is a more fitting tribute to the memory of Isaac T. Hopper, and more in accordance with the simplicity of his character, that the outward sign of mourning should be wanting, while the words of those who knew him, and loved him well, should testify of the sorrow felt at his loss.

In speaking of him, we speak as to personal friends, for very many, we know, of the readers of this paper bore that relation to him, and there are few among them who, though they may never have seen him, have not entertained for him a strong feeling of personal regard, and who have not felt a warm interest in the generous devotion of his life to deeds of beneficent and unostentatious charity, and a hearty admiration for the noble character which, through that whole life, he has sustained. For years he was connected with the American Anti-Slavery Society, as its Treasurer, and his venerable presence was never absent from its platform, while its Anniversaries were held in this city. The publication of this paper was under his charge during the editorship of Mrs. Child, and she then, and for several subsequent years, was a member of his family. It is, therefore, peculiarly fitting that upon her should devolve the duty of commemorating his death, in this place; and it is gratifying to us, as it will be to all his friends, that we can lay before them a tribute to his memory from one who knew him so long and so well.

Mrs. Child thus writes of him:

On Friday last, in the 81st year of his age, ISAAC T. HOPPER closed his earthly pilgrimage, which had been one long mission of energetic benevolence. When he was a lad, eleven or twelve years old, he happened to see an old coloured man sitting on the fence, watching him with a very dejected countenance. He went up to him, and inquired why he seemed so sad. "Ah," said the old man, "I was thinking of the time when I was a boy, like you, before the white men came and carried me off into Slavery. See how my hands were torn by clinging to bushes, brambles, and rocks, as they dragged me along!" He held out his hard hands, which still showed the scars left by deep wounds in that desperate struggle. Isaac sat down beside him, and listened to the details of a story, which filled his young heart with generous indignation. As he walked thoughtfully away, he made an inward vow that, from that time, through his whole life, he would be the friend of Africans; and faithfully he kept this juvenile resolution. He was one of the very earliest friends of the slaves, and, to his latest hour, he warmly sympathized with their wrongs. He was a prominent member of the first Abolition Society in Pennsylvania, and laboured zealously with Benjamin Rush, Dr. Rogers, and other distinguished philanthropists of the time No man at that period, not even eminent judges and advocates, was better acquainted with all the intricacies of law questions connected with Slavery. His accurate legal knowledge, his natural acuteness, his ready tact in avoiding dangerous corners, and slipping through unseen loop-holes, often gave him the victory in cases that seemed hopeless to other minds. On many of these occasions, physical courage was needed as much as moral firmness; but Friend Hopper possessed both these qualities in a remarkable degree When a loaded pistol was pointed at his breast, he looked the slave-hunter steadily in the eye, and said calmly, "Foolish man, put up that murderous weapon! Dost thou expect to terrify me from my duty?" Once he was thrown out of a second story window, by two or three enraged men, who were binding a slave with cords; but he re-appeared in the room, through another second story window, a few minutes after, and rescued their victim by simple boldness and presence of mind.

After his removal from Philadelphia, fewer cases of this kind were brought under his observation. Systematic arrangements to aid "fugitives from injustice" had become more common; and even among those who talked loudest against Abolitionists, there was an increasing tendency to ask no questions when they saw a coloured man in a hurry to step Northward. But though Friend Hopper's zeal and energy were less needed in slave cases in his later years, he was always ready and active when called upon. Not many months before his decease, he left his bed at midnight to place a poor fugitive in safety; and had the step involved imprisonment during the remainder of his natural life, the brave old man would not have hesitated for a moment.

In all the mobs where freedom of speech on the subject of Slavery has been assailed in New York, he always met the rioters with calm, steady courage; and when he walked about in the midst of them, no one ventured to insult the dignified old man, whose bearing told plainly enough that he never knew the sensation of fear. His last appearance on any such occasion was on the platform of the Society Library, in 1850, when democrats so far forgot their own principles as to make a noisy and brutal onset upon men who met to declare to the world that Slavery is oppression, and ought not to be tolerated or excused by any honest freeman.

Friend Hopper was deeply grieved by the unjust and inhuman custom of excluding coloured people from cars and omnibusses. Once, when a woman of modest deportment, and neatly dressed, was turned out into the rain, for no other fault than having a brown complexion, he indignantly jumped out of the cars and walked home in the rain himself, though well nigh eighty years old, and weary with the labours of the day. Sometimes coloured men were ordered to stand on the platform outside the cars; and whenever he heard such orders given, he walked out and stood with them. His earnest representations to the managers did, at one time, effect a temporary change; but things soon relapsed into their former state. If New York contained ten men like Friend Hopper, this unchristian custom would soon be abolished for ever.

A vase with a bird standing beside it was given to one of his children by a ransomed slave, forty years ago, and was always preserved in the family. During his last illness, he asked to have it placed on the mantel-piece before him, and seemed to find pleasure in being thus reminded of one of the many victims he had rescued from oppression.

It was the subject of Slavery that produced separation between him and the Society of Friends, to whom he was closely bound by early religious associations and many years of fellowship. They would not consent to make any exertions in favour of the slave themselves, and at the same time they required members, whose consciences were more alive on the subject, not to cooperate with individuals of other sects They were satisfied with referring to testimonies against Slavery recorded by early fathers of the sect; but Friend Hopper's sincere and earnest nature required that professed principles should be manifested in action. Under such circumstances, what could he do? If he followed the footsteps of Jesus, there was no other way but to "leave the dead to bury their dead."

His enlarged sympathies had always embraced the criminal and the imprisoned, as well as the oppressed; but the last eight years of his life were peculiarly devoted to the Prison Association. In this department of benevolence, he manifested the same zealous kindness and untiring diligence that had been so long exerted for the coloured people. The last time he rode out during his illness, he called at the Anti-Slavery Office, and the Office of the Prison Association. The objects for which they labour formed the earliest and the latest links in his long life of benevolence and usefulness, and to them he bade his last farewell.

L. MARIA CHILD

The labours of Isaac T. Hopper while Agent for the Prison Association of this City have been governed by the same spirit and wisdom which have distinguished the efforts of his whole life in behalf of the Slave. We have received from that Association the following minute of the proceedings of its Executive Committee on receiving the intelligence of his death:

At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Prison Association, held on Monday, May 10, 1852, at their rooms, 15 Centre street, the following resolutions were adopted:

The Executive Committee of the New York Prison Association, bowing with profound reverence to the dispensation which has separated from them, and from his labours, their esteemed friend and coadjutor, Isaac T. Hopper, do unanimously

Resolve, 1st. That the combination of virtues which distinguished and adorned the character of our lamented friend, eminently qualified him for the accomplishment of those benevolent and philanthropic objects to which he unremittedly devoted *a life* far more extended than ordinarily falls to man's inheritance.

2nd. That in our intimate associations with him for many years, he has uniformly displayed a character remarkable for its disinterestedness, energy, fearlessness, and Christian principle, in every good word and work.

3d. That we tender to the family and friends of the deceased our sincere condolence and sympathy in their sore bereavement, but whilst sensible that words, however truly uttered, cannot compensate for the loss of such a husband, father, and guide, we do find both for them, consolation in the belief that his peaceful end was but the prelude to the bliss of Heaven.

4th. That in the death of Isaac T. Hopper the community is called to part with a citizen of transcendant worth and excellence; the prisoner, with an unwearied and well-tried friend; the poor and the homeless, with a father and a protector; the Church of Christ, with a brother whose works ever bore unfailing testimony to his faith; and the world at large, with a philanthropist of the purest and most uncompromising integrity, whose good deeds were circumscribed by no sect, party, condition or clime.

5th. That this committee will attend the funeral of the deceased in a body; and that a copy of these resolutions be presented to his family, and published in the city papers. R. N. HAVEN, Ch'n. Ex. Com.

GEO E. BAKER, Sec'y. pro tem.

The following proceedings of this Association, on the occasion of his resigning his office in that body, shows the value of his services, and the opinion of entertained of him by its members:

At a special meeting of the Executive Committee of the Prison Association, held at their office, Friday evening, February 13th, 1852—

"The Committee to whom was referred the resignation of Isaac T Hopper, Agent, reported, through their chairman, Judge Edmonds, the following:

"The Association has received with undissembled sorrow, the resignation of Isaac T. Hopper, as their agent for the relief of discharged convicts.

"He was actively engaged in the organization of the Society, and has ever since been its most active member.

"His kindness of heart, and his active zeal in behalf of the fallen and erring whom he has so often befriended, have given to this Society a lofty character for goodness, which being a reflection of his own, will endure with the remembrance of him.

"His forbearance and patience, combined with his great energy of mind, have given to its action an impetus and a direction, which, it is to be earnestly hoped, will continue long after it shall have ceased to enjoyed his participation in its active business.

"His gentleness and propriety of deportment towards us, his associates, have given him a hold upon our affections which adds poignancy to our grief at parting with him.

"And while we mourn his loss to us, our recollections of the cause of it awakens within us the belief that the good he has done will smooth his departure from among us, and gives strength to the cheering hope that the recollection of a life well spent may add even to the happiness that is in store for him hereafter."

On motion the report was accepted.

Moved and seconded, That the Report be adopted, and that a copy thereof be presented to Mr. Hopper, by a committee, consisting of Messrs. Havens, J. Russell and Edmonds.

Yeas and nays being called, it was adopted unanimously.

(Extract from the Miuutes.)
THOS. T. BENNETT, Clerk.

TO THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE PRISON ASSOCIATION.

DEAR FRIENDS: I received through your committee, accompanied by Dr. Russ, your resolutions of the 13th of February, 1852, commendatory of my course while agent for Discharged Convicts. My bodily indisposition has prevented an earlier acknowledgment.

The kind, friendly and affectionate manner in which you have been pleased to express yourselves on this occasion, excited emotions which I found it difficult to repress. The approbation of those with whom I have long laboured in a deeply interesting and arduous concern, I value next to the testimony of a good conscience Multiplied years and debility of body, admonish me to retire from active life as much as may be, but my interest in the work has not abated. Much has been done, and much remains to be done.

In taking a retrospect of my intercourse with you, I am rejoiced to see that the great principles of humanity, and Christian benevolence, have risen above and overspread sectarian prejudice, that bane of Christianity, and while each has been allowed to enjoy his own religious opinions without interference from his fellows, we have laboured harmoniously together for the promotion of the great object of our Association.

May He who clothes the lilies, feeds the ravens, and provides for the sparrows, and without whose Providential regard, all our endeavours must be in vain, bless your labours, and stimulate and encourage you to persevere, so that having, through His aid, fulfilled all your relative and social duties, you may in the end receive the welcome "Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world; for I was an hungered, and ye gave me meat, I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink; I was a stranger, and ye took me in, naked and ye clothed me; I was sick, and ye visited me; I was in prison, and ye came unto me."

That this may be our happy experience, is the fervent desire of your sincere and affectionate friend.

ISAAC T. HOPPER.

NEW YORK, 4th mo. 15, 1852.

THE General Conference of the African M. E. Church, has been in session in this city during the last eleven days, and is progressing rapidly in its business. Two of its members have been elected to strengthen the Episcopacy, viz: Rev. Willis Nazery of Philadelphia, and Rev. Daniel A. Payne, of Baltimore, Md. Mr. Payne, we are informed, is a native of Charleston, South Carolina. An Editor of *The Christian Herald*, Pittsburgh, and General Book Steward, and officers yet to be elected. The two Bishops elect are to be consecrated this Thursday afternoon, May 13, at 4 o'clock, in Bethel, Second st., between Avenues B and C.

SOME excitement has been created at Richmond, Va., in consequence of Governor Johnson having commuted the punishment of death to that of banishment from the State, in the case of a slave named Jordan, who, on being whipped by an overseer for bad work and disobedience, had risen against and killed him, for which crime he had been regularly tried and sentenced to be hanged.

THE Governor of Maryland has appointed James M. Buchanan and Richard Carmichael as commissioners to confer with Pennsylvania about the fugitive slave killing case.

REPLY TO DR. PEABODY.

BY WILLIAM I. BOWDITCH....NO. VII.

COLONISATION.

Who does not desire to see Africa rising up, and the knowledge of the true God diffused throughout her vast domains? The Abolitionist desires it with all his heart—none more than himself. He pities Africa, and longs to see her saved; and prays that she may not stretch out her hands in vain. But there are other parts of the world to be evangelized. Do we gather all the vile, the degraded, the helpless, and carry them by shiploads to uproot idolatry in India, or break caste in Burmah, or destroy cannibalism in New Zealand? No! Missionaries, professing to be called of God, and moved by the Holy Ghost to go forward and preach the glad tidings of salvation to those who are perishing, stand ready to enter these fields, and are sent to occupy them. Why, then, do we not pursue the same course in regard to Africa? Even now the field is 'white to the harvest,' but where are the missionaries?—*Wm. Lloyd Garrison.*

Dr. Peabody says:

But whether emancipation will, within any calculable period, result in any decided good to whites or blacks, we think a much more unsettled point. The South is in one of those Serbonian bogs, in which the peril seems almost equally great to go forward or back. The result must, apparently, depend in no small degree on the manner in which the abolition of Slavery is accomplished (Slavery in U. S. p. 16).

Precisely what he means by the expression "any calculable period," does not appear. Elsewhere (p. 19) he says that, as it has taken two centuries to bring Slavery to its present state, "we may well be *satisfied* if the ascent from this Avernus is not *longér* than the descent." Accordingly, it would seem to be a very doubtful point with him, whether emancipation, effected at any time within the next two hundred years, will result in any decided good to either blacks or whites! The result will "in no small degree" depend on the manner in which emancipation is effected.

He enumerates three ways in which emancipation can take place.

If, as is quite too possible, "the area of freedom" is enlarged by the "annexation" of the rest of Mexico to the United States, the blacks will continue to recede towards the tropics. Crowded down into the isthmus, and into a climate favourable to them and fatal to the whites, the time may come, in the revolutions of the world, when, constituting a State by themselves, they may, like a pear which is ripe, drop off, or be separated by violence from the United States. Should this occur, their subsequent fortunes must, under Providence, depend on themselves If the two races, after the slaves are set free, remain together at the South, we can foresee nothing but evil. If amalgamation should take place, it would create a third race, certainly inferior to the white, and probably inferior to the negro. But there is no reason to anticipate an amalgamation. It is far more likely to take place while they are slaves than after they are free. The moment the slave is liberated, the lines of caste will be more tightly drawn; and living in the presence of their former masters, and amidst the associations of servitude, they will always continue to be mere hewers of wood and drawers of water. This is the best fate for which they can look. There is another result, of whose possibility history gives us warning. It is, a war of races, in which the feebler race will be crushed down into a more hopeless state, till, losing all courage and energy, it gradually perishes out of existence (ib. p. 16).

"Is there no way of anticipating and preventing these *evils?*" asks Dr. P. The separation of the blacks by themselves, on this continent, he considers an evil; and from emancipation without separation of blacks from whites, he can forsee nothing but evil. What can be done to prevent amalgamation on the one hand, and the utter extinction of the black race on the other?

Of specific remedies we know ONLY one, and that is *colonisation.* Even this, at the best, as we are quite ready to concede, must be a very imperfect and gradual one; it may never prove fully competent to meet the exigencies of the case; but so far as we can perceive, it is on this, more than on any thing else, that the black race must rely for any speedy improvement in its condition (ib. p. 17).

What, then, is the bearing of colonisation upon emancipation? Dr. P. confesses that "if no other causes were at work tending to relieve the country of Slavery, except colonisation, we should consider the matter HOPELESS" (p. 19). In other words, as a means of bringing about emancipation, colonisation, by itself, is utterly worthless, on his own confession! We may spend millions upon millions of treasure—we may labour on, generation after generation, in transporting our black population to Africa or Jamaica—and, unless *other* causes avail to bring about emancipation, the day of freedom will be as distant centuries hence as it is this day!

Though thus utterly worthless by itself, Dr. P. says:

"That there are powerful and irresistible influences at work in a large part of the Slave States, tending towards the abolition of Slavery within their boundaries; that colonisation cooperates harmoniously with these tendencies; that, in removing those who become free to Africa, it is conferring an inestimable good on the blacks; and, in so doing, it relieves these States of a class whose presence, wisely or unwisely, causes the South to look with dread on emancipation, as ultimately full of danger both to blacks and whites. This point is of so much importance that we will illustrate by an example what the practical relations of a wise and large scheme of colonisation would be to emancipation.

If Slavery is ever abolished, it will be gradually, and first of all, in the Slave States on the northern border. We may take the case of Maryland, to explain what is very likely to be the progress of events. The whole number of slaves in Maryland, in 1830, was 102,294. In 1840, it was 89,737. In 1850, it was 89,800. Thus, through the agency of causes now at work, during the last twenty years, there has been an actual falling off, in the slave population, of 12,494. In the mean time, the population of the State has increased 135,466, amounting by the census of 1850, to 582,506. Thus, while the number of slaves is diminishing, the white population is steadily increasing, and, through this increasing disproportion between the two races, Slavery is every day coming more and more under control. Besides, as is evident from the circumstance that so many are set free, there are large numbers of slaveholders disinclined to hold slave property, and equally disinclined to sell their slaves. Of these, some would be glad to liberate their slaves at once; and many more, unwilling to leave them in bondage, would liberate them at death, could they have any assurance that their condition would be changed for the better. Were the United States Government—adopting some plan like that suggested by Mr. Webster, in his speech of March 7, 1850, and which, it appears from his remarks, was formerly suggested, we believe, by Rufus King (one of those gigantic plans which contemporaries reject as impracticable, and which posterity admires as characterized by a prophetic sagacity)—to engage to transport to Africa as many as should be set free for that purpose, and to provide them with the means of support for a reasonable time after their arrival, there is every ground for believing that many now retained in bondage would be liberated. Through this decrease of the slave population, and the corresponding increase in the number of intelligent and influential non-slaveholders—for such is likely to be the character of those who voluntarily liberate their slaves—the whole aspect of Slavery must be changed; and in a few years, the state of things is likely to be such as to lead to its entire and voluntary abolition. Similar causes would tend to produce similar results in the whole northern tier of Slave States; while each State which becomes free, must, in so doing, aid powerfully that course of events which is leading on towards universal emancipation (ib. p. 20–21).

Dr. P. thinks that "a large number" of slaveholders are now inclined to emancipation, and that this number would be greatly increased if they only felt sure that emancipation would not increase the present free black population, and would improve the condition of their slaves, by causing them to be sent to Africa

The *only* authentic evidence that we have of the number of emancipations is found in the following table, taken from the abstract of the Report of the Superintendent of the last Census.

Slaves manumitted during the year ending June 1, '52.

Delaware,	277
Maryland,	493
Virginia,	218
Kentucky,	152
Tennessee,	45
North Carolina,	2
South Carolina,	2
Georgia,	19
Florida,	22
Alabama,	16
Mississippi,	6
Louisiana,	159
Texas,	5
Arkansas,	1
Missouri,	50
Total,	1467

From this table it is apparent that Maryland affords very much the best example that Dr. P. can adduce to illustrate and support his position. But even in Maryland, only a very few slaveholders are inclined to emancipation. During the year to which the table refers, only 493 slaves were set free out of a population of 89,800, being less than 1-180 of the whole number, and less than 1-5 even of its annual increase. There seems to be no reason to think that the proportion between slaves and masters, throughout the South, is any less than it is in Kentucky—that is, each slaveholder owns, on an average, 22 slaves. If, therefore, each man in Maryland who set free his slaves in 1850, set free *all* he had, we find that in that year only 23 out of 4,082 slaveholders were inclined to emancipation. Taking the whole South through, this result will be even more decided; for, in 1850, only 67 slaveholders out of 144,739 set free their slaves; and the number actually emancipated was less than 1-2170 part of the whole number, and less than 1-60 of its annual increase! It is not the fact that "there are large numbers of slaveholders disinclined to hold slave property"!

But, how many persons have been induced by the efforts of the American Colonisation Society to manumit their slaves, and send them to Africa? During the thirty-five years of its existence, this Society has sent to Africa 6,792 blacks. Of this number, 2,720 were "born free;" 204 "purchased their freedom;" and 3,868 were "emancipated in view of emigrating to Liberia" (35th Ann. Rep Am. Col. Soc., 1852, p. 52). This "does not include the number (about 800) that have been sent by the Maryland Colonisation Society to the Colony of Maryland in Liberia" (ib). There is no reason to suppose that all of these 800 were set free. Still, we shall add the whole of this 800 to the 3,868 sent out by the American Society, and shall consider 4,668 as the whole number of slaves who owe their freedom and settlement in Africa to the stimulus which colonisation has created on the slaveholders. In other words, the Colonisation scheme has, for the last thirty-five years, on an average, annually induced six slaveholders to emancipate all their slaves, 134 in number!

By comparing the tables of emigrants, annexed to the 34th and 35th Annual Reports of the American Colonisation Society, it appears that of the 676 blacks sent to Africa in the year 1851, 232 were slaves, set free "in view of emigrating to Liberia." If the same number were set free for this purpose during the year ending June 1, 1850, the result will be, that only about 1-6 of the 1,467 slaves then emancipated owed their freedom to the influence exerted by colonisation.

In 1850, the Colonisation Society spent more money than in any one year since its existence, and sent to Africa more emigrants than ever before except in 1832, the year after Nat. Turner's insurrection. Still, we will suppose that it paid no part of the expenses attending the settlement in Africa of these 232 slaves set free with the view of emigrating to Liberia.

The question then is, how much will this yearly number of emancipations increase, if the General Government offers to pay all the expenses attending the settlement in Africa of those who may be set free for the purpose? If, in 1850, 11 persons were found ready to free their slaves, for this purpose, how many more will be induced to take the same step, if they know their slaves will settle in Africa, and without any expense to themselves and at the sole expense of the Government?

Dr. P. says, if the United States Government should "engage to transport to Africa as many as should be set free for that purpose, and to provide them with the means of support for a reasonable time after their arrival * * *many* now retained in bondage would be liberated." "Some," he says, would liberate their slaves at once, "and many more" would liberate them by will. No one can do more than conjecture *how* many more. The facts before given are all that we *know* on the subject. Still the increase must be quite small.

We shall have occasion to prove, before the conclusion of this article, that it will cost the Government, on an average, $100 to settle each emigrant in Africa. For the present, we shall *assume* this to be the real cost, and if the estimate seems too high, this circumstance can only serve to help Dr. P.'s position. Mr. Clay considers the slaves worth on an average $400 a piece—call it $300, and this lowering the estimate can also only serve to help Dr. P.

Now if 11 slaveholders are found ready, every year, to give up property worth to them $72,600, and also pay $24,200, the cost of settling their slaves in Africa, how many more slaves will be set free every year than now are, if the Government, and not the owners, pays the cost of emigration? No more, we think, than will suffice to make up in value the sum of $24,200, the cost of emigration—that is 81 slaves. In other words, if Government *should* make the offer which Mr. Webster suggested, and Dr. P. refers to, there is not the slightest particle of *evidence* to show that more than 313, or not quite 1-284 part of their *annual increase*, would be set free. If Government should see fit to give this aid to the slaveholders, it may, perhaps, induce four more to manumit their slaves than did in 1850.

We will not, however, rely at all on this, our object being to avoid the least injustice to colonisation. We will suppose that *all* the 1467, slaves who were set free in 1850, were set free with the view of sending them to Africa, and for no other reason, and that their owners were, and are, willing to pay all the expenses attending their settlement there. The question then is, how much will this number of emancipations be increased, if Government offers to relieve the owners of all this additional expense? As this additional expense amounts to $146,700, on the principles just laid down, there will be set free every year, 489 more slaves than were set free in 1850; that is—not more than 1,956 slaves, in all, or only about 1-45 part of their annual increase would be set free. And instead of 67 there would be 90 slaveholders out of 144,739 induced every year to manumit their slaves.

It seems, therefore, to be beyond all doubt that, comparatively speaking, very few indeed of the slaveholders are now inclined to emancipation, and that this number cannot be materially increased by *any* amount of aid which the Government may see fit to offer, in the way pointed out by Dr. P. The trouble is, that very few owners are yet disposed to give up their property in slaves. The very great majority of men, slaveholders included, are not governed by motives of self-sacrifice and generosity—but by selfishness.

Still, however, Dr. P. may say, that this aid from Government would very materially increase the number of emigrants taken from the free black population. This is no doubt true; but perhaps nothing can be devised which is more calculated to strengthen Slavery, and *postpone* the day of emancipation than the removal of the free black population. In this point of view, therefore, colonisation, so far from co-operating with the causes which are now tending towards emancipation, is most lamentably antagonistical to them.

Dr. P. says, and with entire truth (p. 21):

In removing the free blacks, that part of the population is removed which is likely to furnish the intelligent leaders of insurrection, and whose simple presence, by keeping before the slaves the visible possibility of freedom, is the perpetual source among them of irritation and uneasiness. Colonies and colonisation may thus look for support from the South, as a matter of interest.

So true is it, that the slaveholders consider it a matter of pressing interest for them to get rid of the free blacks, that, from the very beginning of the colonisation scheme to the present hour, they have openly supported it for the very reason that it afforded them the means of removing from their midst this vicious and discontented population, the only effect of whose presence was to render the slaves yet more vicious and rebellious, and therefore less valuable. A few proofs will suffice.

"*Is it not certain that the people of the Southern States will contribute* MORE *effectually to the continuance and strength of the system, by removing those now free, than by any and all other methods which can possibly be devised?* Such has been the opinion expressed by Southern gentlemen of the first talents and distinction" (African Repository, Vol. 1, p. 227). The execution of this "scheme would augment instead of diminishing the value of the property left behind" (Ib. Vol. 2, p. 344). "The slaves would be greatly benefitted by the removal of the free blacks who now corrupt them and render them discontented" (2d An. Rep. of Am. Col. Society). "Another reason is, the pressing and vital importance of relieving ourselves as soon as practicable from this most dangerous element in our population. We all know the effects produced on our slaves by the fascinating, but delusive, appearance of happiness, exhibited in some persons of their own complexion roaming in idleness and vice among them. By removing the most fruitful source of discontent from among our slaves, we should render them more industrious and attentive to our commands" (14th An. Rep). "It is the removal of the free blacks from among us that is to save us, sooner or later, from those dreadful events foreboded by Mr. Jefferson, or from the horrors of St. Domingo" (African Repository, Vol. 5, p. —). The Hon Henry Clay, in his address before the American Colonisation Society in 1851 (34th An. Rep. p. 39), said, "The slaves of the South will be benefitted. We all know, who know anything of Slavery, what corrupting influences are exercised over the slave population of the South, by the neighbourhood and intercourse which have taken place between them and the free people of colour. They are led off, seduced away, intoxicating liquors are sold them, and they are induced to commit acts of petty larceny against their masters. Indeed every species of irregularity results from the intercourse between the more dissolute portion of the free people of colour and the slaves in the slaveholding States. The white man of the North, the white man of the South, the slaves of the South, all, all would be benefitted by that separation which is proposed ultimately to be effected by the Colonisation Society." At the last Annual Meeting of the Society, the Hon. Henry Frederick P. Stanton, of Tennessee, said (35th An. Rep. p. 13). "I assure you, sir, that it is beyond all doubt a fixed conviction on the part of the Southern people, that both the whites and the slaves would be benefitted by the removal of the free blacks."

In view of this testimony, it is unquestionable, that the colonisation scheme was designed, and is calculated to strengthen the institution of Slavery, by removing the free black population, and thereby seriously retard rather than promote emancipation. If in some few instances it has the effect of inducing masters to free their slaves, it cannot fail to give to the immense majority of owners an additional motive to retain them

Dr. P. describes only the other way in which colonisation tends to advance the cause of emancipation. Any wise and comprehensive system of colonisation, he says, must have a wide and deep influence on the institution of Slavery.

If the blacks prove themselves to be capable of freedom, and succeed in establishing and maintaining free institutions, they will take from the defenders of Slavery one strong argument derived from the assumed inferiority of the negro race. Free, civilized, and prosperous commonwealths cannot be built up in Africa, without awaking in the blacks of this country new hopes and ambitions. They will rise in their own estimation and in that of the whites. One reason why we so readily acquiesce in the existence of Slavery is, that we are accustomed, both North and South, to see the blacks occupy subordinate positions. The existence in Africa of self-supporting States, founded by emancipated slaves, cannot fail to react on the public sentiment of this country, and to modify the general estimate in which Slavery is held, while it must go far to break up the habit of associating the blacks with a depressed and degraded condition (Ib. p. 21).

But colonisation, for such a purpose as this, will not be needed, for, if we have it not already, we shall soon have abundant demonstration, nearer home, of the capacity of the blacks to maintain a government of their own. In the Island of Jamaica, the blacks already have their full share in the management of affairs, considering the very recent existence of Slavery. When Mr Bigelow visited the island, Dr. P. says,

one of the most distinguished barristers on the island was a coloured man, educated at an English university. At the Surrey Assize, where Sir Joshua Rowe presided, two coloured lawyers were sitting at the barristers' table, and of the jury, all but three were coloured. All the officers of the court, except the clerk, were coloured. Seven-tenths of the whole police force of the island, amounting to about 800 men, were estimated to be coloured. In the Legislative Assembly, composed of from forty-eight to fifty members, ten or a dozen were coloured. The public printers of the Legislature, who were also editors of the leading government paper, were both coloured men. One or two black regiments were constantly kept under pay; and it is the evident policy of the government to place the local management of the island, as far as possible, under the control of people of colour, while it is very likely, ultimately, to be surrendered entirely into their hands (Ib. 28–9).

If such is the state of things in Jamaica *now*, and if, as

never take place, not even in "any calculable period," unless the masters *do* surrender this so-called property. They *must* give up this property before the slave can possibly be freed. If, therefore, as Dr. P. thinks, they will not make this sacrifice, then emancipation with the consent of the masters, will never take place, in any mode, either with or without colonisation.

We, however, think that the non-slaveholders of the South will devise some way of inducing the masters to make this enormous sacrifice, and perhaps even the United States Government may be led to assume a large part of the burden. There are 3,154,262 slaves in the country, worth, according to Mr. Clay's estimate, $1,278,704,800—say thirteen hundred millions of dollars, or even six hundred millions! Now, it is self-evident, that this question of property is the main difficulty in the way of emancipation. Cotton, self-interest, has made Slavery grow, and it is self-interest which opposes its abolition. Doubtless some few slaveholders are to be found, who will portray in vivid colours the evil effects of lawful marriage between whites and blacks when freed, who have not yet uttered the first whisper of condemnation at the infinitely greater evils resulting from the present amalgamation, or illicit connection between the whites and the *slave* blacks. Dr. P., however, thinks that amalgamation "is far more likely to take place while they are slaves than after they are free" (p. 17). Other slaveholders will be found, who are so anxious to protect their slaves from the crushing prejudice to which they think they cannot fail to be subjected if free, that they continue to hold their fellow-men in Slavery *for their own good*, although everywhere, through the slave States, a slave who has performed some great act of heroism or service to the State, is said to *merit* freedom! These classes of slaveholders are, however, few in number, and their objections to emancipation, forming only trivial exceptions to the general rule of interest, may be safely omitted by us. It is beyond all doubt that the stupendous obstacle to *any* plan of emancipation, in the eyes of the masters, consists in the enormous sacrifice of property which it demands of them. But if we admit the colonisation scheme as a necessary part of any plan of emancipation, we must not only induce the masters to sacrifice thirteen hundred millions or six hundred millions of dollars' worth of falsely so-called property, but *also* consent to tax themselves enormously to remove the freed slaves to Africa. In short, we have two obstacles to overcome instead of one—a double battle to fight.

How enormously colonisation increases this difficulty in the way of emancipation, will be easily seen. Dr. P. says:

Within the last few years, we have had new and important experiences in the matter of colonisation. Some three hundred thousand persons are annually transported from Ireland to America. At the same rate, the whole slave population might be transferred to Africa in twenty years (p. 17).

The whole world is in movement; and of the innumerable emigrants whose fleets, setting in all directions, cross each other's tracks on every sea, the far greater proportion leave home under as hard conditions, and go to confront as serious difficulties, as any free black who emigrates to Africa is called on to encounter. Such facts as these, to say the least, take African colonisation out of the circle of impossibilities.*

There is another view, which shows that there is nothing absolutely impracticable in the simple transportation of them across the seas. During the last ten years, the whole black population of the United States, slave and free, has increased at the average rate of not quite 75,000 annually. To show what rapid changes are within bounds of possibility, the removal of 100,000 annually from the United States would, in twenty-five years—a short time in the history of a nation—not only prevent an increase of the slave population, but would reduce it from twenty to twenty-five per cent. below its present number. In the meanwhile, the white population would have doubled itself, and such a change have taken place in the relative numbers of the two races as to make Slavery a comparatively manageable evil.

The expense may be great, but properly conducted, it need not be such as to weigh heavily on the finances of this country. By the Treaty of Washington, we are obliged to support on the coast of Africa a squadron of some eighty guns, at a great cost of money and health and life. Were the sum expended on this slender coast-guard, which certainly does not seem to realize the expectations originally formed of it, applied to colonisation, or were the two objects, as they might easily be, combined, it would not only do infinitely more to annihilate the the Slave Trade, but would probably supply the means for carrying emigrants to Africa, as rapidly as is at present desirable (ib. p. 15).

There is "nothing absolutely impracticable in the simple transportation of" the blacks across the Atlantic. Three millions of men, women and children can be moved that distance, and in that way, and left in Africa to live or die, as the case may be, *if* they will consent to go, and *if* we will spend time and money enough, and consent to make the other sacrifices that such acts would render necessary.

How much will it cost, and how long will it take to send our black population to Africa?

In the appendix to the 35th Annual Report of the Am. Col. Society (1852), there is embodied a large amount of "information about going to Liberia." It appears that the average length of the voyage from Baltimore or Savannah, is about 35 days, and from New Orleans abort 45 or 50. The emigrants must furnish themselves with "the bed and bedding necessary for the voyage." They must "be well supplied with clothing, previous to leaving home, both for winter and summer" * * as "though there is no winter in Liberia; yet, during at least, *one-half* the year, *warm clothing* is *necessary* to comfort, and *the preservation of health*." They should all "have the common tools used in carpenter's work, such as axe, hatchet, handsaw, auger, &c.," and "the ordinary gardening implements, such as hoes, spades, rakes, &c.;" ploughs, harrows, &c. "are not absolutely necessary to farming operations, though they are advantageous in carrying on these operations on a large scale." "As every family is expected to keep house, they ought to have a supply of necessary cooking utensils and table furniture." "Chairs, tables, bedsteads, and other large articles of furniture" can seldom be taken, but they can be bought in Liberia "in style and quality not much inferior to the best in this country, at the cost of about 50 per cent. (frequently less) advance on the price of similar articles in the United States." "Each emigrant, on his arrival, receives five acres of good land, or, if he prefers it, a town lot. If he is the head of a family, the quantity of land is increased according to the number of his family, not exceeding ten acres." Among the things "which every emigrant to Liberia ought to know," it is stated that "they should understand that they are going to a comparatively new country." "They receive a tract of land in its wild and uncultivated state, and if it is ever cleared or planted, they must do it. They must build a house for themselves, and begin to keep house." "They must not depend upon the Colonisation Society. The business of the Society is to help them to get to that country, where they can thenceforward help themselves. Many persons have supposed that the Society would do every thing for them; pay their passage, furnish them every thing to eat and drink after they get to Liberia, and let them live in ease. But the truth is far otherwise."

Dr. Lugenbeel, in his Sketches of Liberia (35 Ann Rep. Am. Col. Soc. p. 38), says:

"Some persons in passing through the process of acclimation, have very little, if any fever, and are not at all interrupted in their daily avocations by sickness during the acclimating process. Others are not so highly favoured, and some die during the first few months of their residence in Liberia—not always in consequence of the violence of the fever, but frequently in consequence of not exercising the necessary precautions in the preservation of health; such as *proper attention to their habits, diet and clothing, to the extent of exposure to the heat of the day, as well as to the damp and chilling night air, and especially to the avoidance of all sources of mental inquietude*. In *some cases*, the physical system becomes sufficiently adapted to the climate to resist the surrounding deleterious influences in *two or three months*. In *other cases, a year or more elapses before this desirable point is reached; the individual in the meantime being subject to occasional chills, being followed, of course, by more or less fever*." "*The majority of coloured immigrants* who have sufficient prudence to use such means for the preservation of their health as an enlightened judgment would dictate, *usually enjoy as good health after the first year of their residence in Liberia*, as they formerly enjoyed in the United States."

It is very evident from this testimony, that every emigrant must be supported by other means than his own labour, for some considerable time after his arrival in Liberia. For several months, he *cannot* work, without running great risk of losing his life.

The Rev. R. R. Gurley says, "I have seen large families in Liberia, who, after a residence there of some years, have suffered no invasion from death, and who, doubtless, found their security, under Providence, in their watchfulness against excesses in diet and exertion, in a moderation approaching to abstinence, in the use of medicine, and in the possession of ample supplies of the necessaries and comforts of life. The friends of our coloured people, and of the Republic of Liberia, cannot be too emphatically reminded that to send emigrants with inadequate supplies, to feel all the depression of want, while exposed to the untried influences of the African climate, is an error which must often prove fatal to human life, and sadly injurious to their great enterprise. Far better is it to enable a few immigrants to establish themselves in health and comfort in Liberia, than to cast large bodies of them on that shore, with no sufficient means of subsistence, during the time when such means can be secured by no exertions of theirs; thus augmenting vastly the perils of their condition, or imposing burdens upon the charity of that but recent community which its citizens must find it difficult, if not impossible, to sustain" (Report to Secretary of State, 1850, p. 2).

"The actual expense incurred in the transportation of emigrants to Liberia may be set down at the average of $30 for adults, and $15 for children twelve years, which, added to the average cost of subsistence during the first six months after their arrival—say $50 for adults, and $25 for children—makes $80 for the former, and $40 for the latter, or a general average of $60. The average of $50, as previously stated, has been found by experience to be insufficient to meet all the various expenses necessarily incurred. This average of $60 we expect to receive from those persons who are fully able to pay their own way. The Society, however, will not refuse to send any who are unable to pay, in part or in whole, the necessary expense of transportation and support, but will give a free passage to all who are not able to pay for themselves, and will aid them in supporting themselves during the first six months after their arrival, by furnishing them with provisions and medical attendance when necessary, and providing them houses to live in; thus taking care of them a sufficient length of time to enable them to make arrangements to take care of themselves" (Appendix to 35th Ann. Rep.).

But it is evident that $60 will fall far short of the sum required to cover the average expenses attending emigration to Liberia, and subsistence there for the first six months. In this sum, nothing is included for the expenses of the outfit—the bed and bedding, clothing, carpenter's tools, agricultural implements, cooking utensils, table furniture, as well as chairs, tables, bedsteads, &c. No allowance is made for the cost of these articles, which must be very considerable, and none of which can be saved, without danger to life itself, or the entire failure of the objects of emigration. Nothing whatever is said about the expense of going to the port of departure in this country, or of subsistence there while waiting for the ship to sail, though neither of these items of expense can possibly be avoided; nor is anything allowed for the expenses of building a house, which every emigrant is expected to do. Thirty dollars is said to be the average cost of supporting an adult on ship board for some forty days, while only $50 is allowed for his support during the first 180 days after his arrival; during which time, he will be subject to occasional chills, followed by more or less fever, when he will be hardly able to work at all, even with the use of the very greatest caution; and when "the avoidance of all sources of mental inquietude" is absolutely essential to the preservation of his health, and even of life itself. It is evident, therefore, that the above estimates are altogether too low.

The actual cost of colonisation demonstrates the same thing. Up to December 31, 1850, it had cost "about a million and a quarter of dollars" to transport and settle in Africa 7,860 blacks, making the average cost of each emigrant $159, considerably more than double as much as the estimate above stated (34th Ann. Rep. Am Col. Soc. p 82)!

In a report on this subject, presented to the United States Senate, in 1828, the committe go a little into this question of cost. They say "the expense of transporting such persons from the United States to the coast of Africa has been variously estimated. By those who compute it at the lowest rate, the mere expense of this transportation has been estimated at $20 per head. In this estimate, however, is not comprehended the expense of transporting the persons destined for Africa to the port of their departure from the United States, or the necessary expense of sustaining them, either there or in Africa, for a reasonable time after their first arrival. All these expenses combined, the committee think they estimate VERY LOW when they compute the amount at $100 per head. It has been estimated by some at DOUBLE this amount; and if past experience may be relied on as proving anything, the official documents formerly furnished to the Senate by the Department of the Navy show that the expenses attending the transportation of the few captured slaves who have been returned to Africa by the United States, at the expense of this Government, far exceed even the largest estimates"

If we adopt as correct this "very low" estimate of the committee, we shall have the following results. Dr. P. speaks of transporting 75,000 or 100,000 annually. This is a much greater number than, for very many years to come, could be transported to Africa, and live. Indeed, Dr. P. himself says:

We make these statements, not because we think it desirable that so large a mass of emigrants should, in the present state of things, be thrown at once on the African coast, but to show that the simple transportation of the blacks to the land of their origin presents, in itself, no insurmountable difficulties. So rapid a change as we have imagined is not to be desired or expected. It has taken two centuries to bring Slavery into its present state; and we may be well satisfied if the ascent from this Avernus is not longer than the descent (p. 19).

Taking the whole time from 1790 to 1850, the average decennial increase of the slaves has been 28.89 per cent.—say 28 per cent, which is less than the increase between 1840 and 1850. The annual increase of the slaves will then be 89.159. Taking the whole time, from 1790 to 1850, the average decennial increase of the free blacks has been 41.38 per cent.; for the last thirty years, it has been 22.88 per cent.; and for the last twenty, it has been 15.9 per cent. For the present, we will call their decennial increase 10 per cent., which is less than their increase between 1840 and 1850. The annual increase of the free blacks will then be 4,286, making the entire annual increase of the black population 93.445.

To transport and settle in Africa only the annual increase of our black population, will require every year not less than $9,344,500! We may go on, year after year, spending this sum, and at the end of two centuries, or even any calculable period, the present number of blacks will not be reduced a single unit!

Perhaps, however, some one, moved in his inmost soul by intense desire to benefit the black race—and christianize Africa—will say "we will demonstrate, that the conveyance of the present annual increase would, in less than thirty years, remove the whole to Africa. Let all, for instance, born in any single year, say of the age of twenty, be removed to Africa; and in each succeeding year, let all of that age be removed in the same manner. Then admitting, what is far too much to admit, that a generation lasts fifty years, on an average, the generation on the stage when the process commenced would have become extinct at the end of thirty years, and all their increase or offspring would have been removed to Africa. Thirty years would, even in this way, clear them entirely from this country. But there are two circumstances which would, in fact, make the time much shorter.

1. It is known that a generation lasts but a little more than thirty years. The generation, then, on the stage at the commencement of the process, would virtually be extinct in a little more than ten years. 2. By the removal of the most prolific part, the annual increase would itself be diminished more than a thirtieth part, in each successive year; that is, it would be diminished in an arithmetical ratio, so that it would be reduced to nothing before the arrival of the thirtieth year" (American Spectator—See Garrison's Thoughts on African Colonisation, p 116). An equally humane, but more ingenious, writer in the African Repository (Vol. 7, p. 246—Ib. p. 100) says, "Enough, under favourable circumstances, might be removed for a few successive years—if young *females* were encouraged to go—to keep the whole coloured population in check." He might have added that if only the female increase were sent to Africa—we could extirpate the race in one generation, and at the same time not lose the value of the labour of the men during that time!

We have not given these revolting extracts, with the slightest belief that Dr. P. would countenance any such plan. Notwithstanding he thinks Slavery has been a blessing rather than a curse to the blacks, notwithstanding his failure to utter a single word in condemnation of the domestic slave trade; notwithstanding his earnest and elaborate defence of colonisation; yet, we think, no one will condemn such propositions as these, as inhuman and cruel in the extreme, with more readiness and sincerity than Dr. P. But we do it in order, if possible, to open his eyes to the fact, that hatred, and not any love of the black race, is the corner stone of colonisation.

Dr. P. talks about the Squadron on the Coast of Africa, and expresses the opinion that if "the sum expended on this slender coast guard were applied to colonisation, it would probably supply the means of carrying emigrants to Africa, as rapidly as is at present desirable." Precisely how much is expended in supporting this naval force, we cannot say, not having the documents immediately accessible, but Dr. P. (p. 16) says,

The whole cost of colonisation, since its first commencement in 1817 is estimated at no more than $1,250,000; a sum not sufficient to build and maintain for half-a-dozen years the small and comparatively ineffective squadron which we now keep on the African Coast.

We suppose, therefore, that the annual expense of supporting this squadron cannot exceed $300,000, and by spending this sum every year, we shall be able to settle in Africa only about twelve days' increase of the black population! Even the whole sum $1,250,000 will not be sufficient to transport and settle in Africa the increase for two months. In other words, we may begin now, and keep forever transporting to Africa, nearly eight times as many blacks as Dr. P. thinks it at present desirable to send, and the only result will be, that for every 12,500 blacks that we remove from the country, 80,954 will remain behind.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

Domestic Correspondence.

FROM OUR BOSTON CORRESPONDENT.

NO. CII.

THE ARGUMENT.—*M. Kossuth in Massachusetts—The Correspondent maketh "odorous comparisons"—The Spicy Seasoning—A Consistent Municipality—Messrs. Kossuth, Thompson and Sims—How the State did it and what right she had to do it—The Correspondent describeth the Reception, the Review, the Introductions—His own luck—A Mayor in close quarters—The Correspondent taketh a feline privilege—He heareth him speak—Where and how—He maketh another comparison—And two or three besides—He blaspheneth the Sims Brigade—He recounteth the last piece of Whig luck—Mr. Webster in Boston—An extempore crowd—A Spontaneous Coach and Six—The Speech—Narrow escape of Whigs—The head of the Serpent bruised—Northern diet eaten—The New Martyrology, &c., &c., &c.*

BOSTON, May 10th, 1852.

WELL, we have had our turn at M. Kossuth, and, on the whole, have done about as well by him as most of the places he visited. To be sure, we did not go quite as Hungarian mad as you did in New York; but then, on the other hand, we didn't turn any of our pets into the street as you did, after you were convalescent. We have continued to treat him civilly up to this date, which being a full fortnight and more since his entrance into the State, I think speaks well for the constancy of this Republic of Massachusetts. It is true there was a little spice of malice in it, which ever gives a flavour to any concoction. I believe I intimated in my last that the City of Boston resolutely set its face against this "foreign incendiary," this "fugitive from labour," as it had done in the analagous cases of George Thompson and Thomas Sims. The City Fathers were resolved that the City Government should be consistent with itself, although its component parts are almost entirely changed. But the City, which is Webster Whig to the backbone (supposing that vertebral column which Senator Sumner deems so essential to public men to be predicable of a Civic Corporation), having thus turned its back on the Hungarian fugitive, the State resolved to do the handsome thing by him, if it were merely to show what they could do. And everything has been done in the handsomest manner, "without regard to expense." Supposing Massachusetts had any right to consider herself worthy of welcoming an exile for Freedom's sake (which she certainly has not, while she suffers men as good as M. Kossuth to be dragged away from her protection for no other reason than this, and permits tamely neighbouring barbarous States to seize and enslave her own citizens), supposing, I say, that Massachusetts was in any position to do such a thing as this, she did it well.

The weather behaved itself to admiration too. During the whole progress through the State, it was fortunate in the extreme, and at the entrance into Boston it was superb. The spectacle was a very gay and animated one, the commanding position of the State House, waving as it was with banners and streamers, giving a kind of crowning grace to the whole scene. The Reception on the steps of the State House was very effective. M. Kossuth certainly performed the part of a poor exile to perfection. The best grand actor on any stage could not have done it better. The Review of the Division which escorted him into town, in the afternoon, was, also, a very fine spectacle, from the inequalities of the surface of the Common which looked down on the plain of the Review, perfect masses of human beings. The Reception, the next day, in the State House, and the introduction of the Guest of the State to the various parts of the Government, was also very well carried through. I had a ticket to the Council Chamber, but that body being a close corporation, its ceremonies were performed with closed doors, so that I did not get a glimpse of them. However, I suffered in very good company, for Mr. Seaver, the new Mayor, notwithstanding the incivilities of the City towards M. Kossuth, being disposed to have his share in what was going on, got admission to the Council Chamber; thinking, possibly, that an exception would be made in favour of so eminent a magistrate, and that he would be allowed to remain. But some radical Counsellor or other, suspecting as much, had the Chamber cleared, and his Honour was ignominiously locked up in a closet (so the wicked say) during the whole proceedings. After they were over, the doors were thrown open and all so disposed were presented to M. Kossuth. I did not avail myself of this opportunity, though I did of the advantage it gave me (as a cat may look upon a king), of taking a good *stare* at the great man. So that, as one of the wicked near me suggested, when I hear of his being hanged, I shall remember how he looked.

My only opportunity of hearing him speak was on the occasion of the Legislative Banquet given to him in Faneuil Hall. Not that I went to the Banquet, not feeling disposed to give M. Kossuth a dinner, *honoris causa*, by way of honour, not thinking he had deserved any at the hands of an Abolitionist, though I was very willing to give him a dollar for a dinner, *in forma pauperis*, if he should ever be in actual want of one, as is not unlikely. So I bought a ticket for the gallery, and had the pleasure of sitting seven hours (but in good company) seeing other people eat, and hearing them talk. M. Kossuth did not lay himself out for an eloquent speech, though it was one of the longest he has given in this country, being fully two hours long. It was mainly historical and did not contain many facts with which one who has kept moderately posted up about current history would not be acquainted. But his management of his voice is very fine and his air and manner grace itself. I could easily understand how it is that he exercises such extraordinary personal influence, and that so few persons can withstand the magic of his presence. The scene was effective, though not so fine as our own Banquet to Mr. Thompson. Assembly Hall, where that was held, is better calculated to display such an audience than Faneuil Hall, and, besides, we had at least a third more in number, and one half of them being women, the spectacle was finer. And, indeed, the enthusiasm was as much more genuine and hearty on that occasion, as it was a more real one.

It is funny what different luck different people have in this world. True it is, as Goldsmith's Contented Sailor says, that "one man is born with a silver spoon in his mouth, and another with a wooden ladle." Now why should not Louis Kossuth be hung in effigy on Springfield Common as George Thompson was? Why should not the windows of his hotel have been broken, and night made hideous by a mob the Republican had excited? But *he* was received with processions, Dr. Osgood's church (the same worthy Doctor who came near having his head broken by a stone meant for Mr. Thompson) was opened for him to speak in, Hungarian Bonds sold readily in the market, and he went away comforted and strengthened. So in Boston, why did not the city government give him the same reception thus awarded to Sims? He was no more a fugitive than Sims, and from nothing like so bad a Slavery. Why was not Marshal Tukey instructed to prevent a riot in the streets, and why did not that over-zealous official, in order to prevent a Riot, arrest M. Kossuth and chain him up in the Court House? And why did not Commissioner Curtis send him back to Austria as a fugitive? There was just as much law for the one case as the other, and more common sense. The hospitality of the State was due to the one as much as to the other. The "Sims Brigade," indeed, was under arms on both occasions; but on the last, in honour of the fugitive, as on the first to the dishonour of their city and themselves. M. Kossuth should have been advised as to what shabby dogs they were. I don't think he has stood quite straight since he came to this country (as I have said heretofore, and may again, but not now), but I don't think he deserved such an insult as to be escorted by the Sims Brigade. They are *too* mean.

The poor Whigs! They are always out of luck! Have you heard what a blessed piece of luck they narrowly escaped? Mr. Webster, you must know, has come on to arrange about the District Elections to the Whig Nominating Convention. He arrived, and as his organs assure us, by a purely spontaneous movement, a multitude ranging, according to the vividness of the reporter's imaginations, from four hundred to two thousand, met him at the Station with deafening cheers. By the same spontaneous process (a marvel never approached since Cinderella's god-mother died), a barouche and six was conjured up to convey him to his lodgings, where, entirely unprepared as he was, he made an impromptu speech. But all this, though spontaneous, was but the order of Nature (*Whig* Nature) and is not what I am coming to. After this unexpected, but therefore the more gratifying, Reception, the Farmer of Marshfield proceeded to his Tusculum to see how the Spring work went on. Now came the ill luck of the Whigs: on his way from the nearest Station to his house, he was thrown from his carriage; but, such being the Whig Fate, he did *not* break his neck! No! The ancient prophecy was fulfilled, and the Serpent only bruised his head! Possibly, however, as he fell on his face, he may have agreeably varied his diet by eating some *Northern* dirt. *Had* the news only arrived that he was out of their way! The onion market might have risen, newspapers would have been edged with black, a portentous funeral would have blackened the streets, Mr. Choate would have lied over him like a bulletin or an epitaph, or, what is the same thing, a *Eulogy*; but what a relief it would have been! Compelled by Mr. Webster's personal influence and insolence, they are compelled to stand by him for the Presidency. They know, as well as you and I, that either you or I have as good a chance as he. By standing by him, they forfeit all claim to the sports in the remote contingency of Scott's election. Poor fellows! No *pap* for them. They are *shelved*. They are your only martyrs of this Age. Fox's Book has nothing that can hold a candle to them.—D. Y.

LETTER FROM C. C. BURLEIGH.

CINCINNATI, 5th mo. 1st, 1852.

FRIEND GAY: I fully intended to send you, before now, a word about the commencement of my tour in Ohio, and about the doings of the Anti-Slavery Convention which has just closed its session in this city. But partly because my time has been too fully occupied, and partly because, if I had a moment's leisure, I felt the need of rest, too much to spend it in writing, the hours and the days have slipped by, till now I fear my letter may be too late to be of any service to you. Still, hoping it may be otherwise, I will go on with it, trusting that at all events it will do you no harm, if it does you no good.

On my way hitherward, while on board the steamboat, crossing lake Erie, I began the work of my mission, by inviting the passengers on board with me, to hear an Anti-Slavery discourse. The proposition was well received and I spoke to them twice—afternoon and evening, nearly an hour each time, being very attentively listened to by, I think, nearly all the cabin passengers. From the lively interest with which they listened, I doubt not they would have willingly given me their attention still longer, had we not been interrupted by a call to the Cleveland passengers to look out their baggage preparatory to landing.

In company with a few of the Ohio friends coming in to the Convention, I arrived here late in the evening of the 26th ult., and the next morning repaired to the appointed place of gathering. It was a beautiful and convenient hall—said to be the best in the city—on the ground floor, in a central and accessible situation, and capable of holding probably from 1,500 to 2,000 persons by close packing. The first forenoon it was about half full; the second and third forenoons and the first afternoon, it was nearly full; the first evening and the second and third afternoons, it might be called full, to the highest point of comfort, at least; and the second and third evenings it was crowded, packed, *jammed*—seats, aisles, all its available space; a dense throng standing, while all the seats were full. Besides this, I was told by those who had the means of knowing, that four or five hundred persons on the second evening, and seven or eight hundred on the third, were turned off after the packing within had been completed, and the doors closed and locked.

It is affirmed on all hands here, that never has Cincinnati seen an Anti-Slavery gathering, before, which *approached* this, in number, interest, enthusiasm and effectiveness. How this may be, I cannot say from personal knowledge, having seen but few Anti-Slavery meetings here, but I can easily believe the declarations of others to that effect; for certainly it has been a grand and deeply interesting Convention. Our friends here say that it has exceeded the highest expectation of the most sanguine among them. Its proceedings have been marked by good order, by the respectful and eager attention of the miscellaneous crowd assembled, and by an earnestness and elevation of tone, both in the resolutions and in the speeches, not unworthy of our best Conventions at the East. The press of the city, too, so far as I have seen, has treated us respectfully, and has given, on the whole, very fair reports of our proceedings. Some inaccuracies, it is true, appear in them, and one or two somewhat important mistakes, but they do not seem to have been intentional; and in no paper which I have seen, has there appeared any design to caricature our doings, though I have heard of one which has dealt somewhat freely in pro-slavery slang and misrepresentation.

The Convention was first called to order about 10 o'clock on the 27th; John G. Fee, of Kentucky, was chosen President; eight Vice Presidents and four Secretaries were chosen, as well as the usual Committees, on business, finance, &c.; and almost immediately, resolutions were reported and discussion began. The first forenoon session was occupied with the organization, and the consideration and adoption of two or three resolutions of a general character, and, after that, a narrative by Jesse McBride, of his late experience of North Carolina hospitality, liberality and religious freedom. The afternoon and evening, and the morning and afternoon of the next day, were mainly taken up with a spirited discussion of the religious aspects of the cause, and the relations of the religious organizations of the country to Slavery. You will see by the resolutions which were adopted, most of them unanimously, and all with very little dissent (and of which I send you copies herewith), what was the action of the Convention on these topics. Speeches upon them were made by clergymen, church members, come-outers, Garrisonians, Free Soilers, and all sorts of Anti-Slavery men; but none denied the substantial justice of the charges against the great body of the churches and ministers, and only one man, I believe, opposed the policy of coming out from pro-slavery churches.

The evening of the second day was spent in considering the Colonisation scheme, against which emphatic resolutions were introduced, and ultimately adopted without dissent. The first speaker of the evening was a young merchant of this city, a brother of Elizabeth Blackwell, well and honourably known for her energy and perseverance in practically maintaining the right of her sex to share with ours the qualifications, duties and honours of the medical profession. The young man had never attempted a public speech before, and his effort—even without allowing anything for that circumstances—was a very creditable one, both in matter and manner—and was well received by the crowded audience. Henry Bibb and Frederick Douglass filled up the rest of the evening with able and effective speeches, the latter affording abundant stimulus to the mirthfulness of his hearers, as well as appealing every now and then to their higher intellectual and moral faculties. Still, none of the speeches was so compact an *argument* as I should have liked to hear on the subject, and as the experienced speakers, or one of them certainly, I think could have given us.

The third day, morning and afternoon, was spent in discussing the relation of the State to Slavery; the duty of disobeying wicked laws; the position of political parties, &c. Though of course a body so miscellaneously constituted as this was, could not be expected to take, *in form*, what you and I believe to be the true ground in regard to this whole question of political relations, yet it was quite plain to my mind, as I watched the proceedings, that the sentiment of "no union with slaveholders," in the essence of it, had a decided ascendency in the Convention. I do not suppose an explicit avowal of it in terms could have been obtained, but resolutions could easily have been passed, and by a large majority, which would amount to that, in substance if a resolution had been so framed as to secure the votes of the "Garrisonians" and the "Gerrit Smith men," both of whom, you know, hold to a *virtual* disunion from slaveholders, it would have been adopted, I think, without hesitation. What was done, you will see by the accompanying resolutions, actually adopted with little or no dissent. One of the best speeches of the session was that of Julian, formerly member of Congress from Indiana, on the political aspects of Slavery and the character of the two great parties. Douglass also spoke very effectively on the political question—as also did Fee and some others.

Near the close of the afternoon, and when there was no time for discussion, several resolutions came up and were acted on rather hastily, and in a way which hardly gives a true index to the opinions and feelings of the majority of the Convention. One, was in relation to Kossuth, and, by implication at least, censured his pliancy before the slave power. It was adopted by a large majority, but afterwards, in deference to the feelings of the minority, a portion of the majority consented to have it reconsidered, and it was laid on the table and left there. A series of resolutions on Free Produce, affirming that the use of slave produce is the main support of Slavery, and that Abolitionists ought to make strenuous exertions to substitute for slave-raised articles those which are produced by free labour, was passed without debate or opportunity for it; and an attempt to reconsider was voted down.

The last evening was wholly given up to speeches from speakers announced beforehand; all the resolutions having been disposed of before the close of the afternoon session. E. H. Nevin, of Cleveland, Free Presbyterian clergyman; a young coloured man named Langston, from Oberlin, an earnest and animated speaker; and Frederick Douglass, were the designated orators. The speeches were all able and effective, and were most attentively listened to, and loudly and often applauded. Douglass spent half or more of his time in setting forth and defending his new opinions on the Constitution, and though he did it ably and ingeniously—perhaps all the more *because* he did it ably and ingeniously—he only left a deeper impression on my mind of the utter fallacy of the notions he was trying to maintain. He took occasion, in his remarks on that subject incidentally to do justice, in a few sentences of warm and eloquent eulogy, to his old associates in Massachusetts, who took him by the hand while he was obscure and unknown, and first taught him that white men could treat negroes as *men*. A part of his speech was devoted to exposing the error of Kossuth, in sacrificing consistency and fidelity to principle, in a vain attempt to conciliate the favour of the slave power. He closed with a most impressive appeal on behalf of the good cause, which drew out an emphatic response of hearty and long continued applause from the mighty multitude before him.

I took time, after he sat down, to throw out a single suggestion in reply to his constitutional argument, and to intimate my intention to answer it more fully before leaving the city; after which a vote, of thanks to the Cincinnatians for their hospitality was passed, and the Convention adjourned without day.

I expect to remain here a few days, and give a short course of lectures, then to make an excursion through the neighbouring country, and afterward to work on northward and eastward, on my homeward way.

Yours truly. C. C. BURLEIGH.

RESOLUTIONS.

Resolved, That Christianity, in its true and highest acceptation, commends itself to the judgment and to the hearts of men, because it directs to God as the common Father of us all, and places mankind on the common platform of fraternal equality.

Resolved, That they are the only true expositors of Jesus Christ's doctrines who recognise in every man a brother, and so use the Scriptures as to promote love thereby between man and man, and the temporal and spiritual interests of the whole human family, without respect to persons.

1. Resolved, That this Convention hereby announces to the world the unalterable purpose of the Abolitionists of America, to continue under any, and all circumstances, the discussion of the Anti-Slavery question so long as God gives us a heart to feel, a mind to plan, a tongue to speak, and a hand to hold a pen.

2. Resolved, That, under no circumstances, can any true hearted Abolitionist engage in, or connive at any compromise involving the slightest concession to any pro-slavery requisitions, or yielding a single jot or tittle of the principles which have distinguished them as the advocates of human liberty for the last twenty years.

Resolved, That slaveholding is in itself an act of immeasurable wickedness, and that for all the abominations connected with it, a large majority of the American Church and Clergy are pre-eminently responsible.

Resolved, That whatever else that church may be which is indifferent to the claims of justice and humanity in the person of the American slave, it cannot be the standing type and representative of Jesus Christ on earth, nor can it be entitled to the respect and support of Christian men; and that separation from such a church, and to bear a faithful testimony against it, are clearly the duty of all who would free themselves from the blood of the slave.

Resolved, That every sermon, prayer or hymn of praise, every principle of Democracy, every national jubilee, every appeal in behalf of philanthropy or moral reform, and every shout of patriotism that does not acknowledge the immortal rights of man as man, without reference to nation or colour, is a solemn mockery of Christianity, humanity and truth in the sight of God and man.

Resolved, That we believe that there is no power out of the Church that would sustain Slavery an hour, if it were not sustained in it, and that it is, therefore, the duty of our great religious denominations, "to free themselves from all connection with evil," and thus bring deliverance to the captive.

Resolved, That we should seek peace and unity in the Church, by removing the evils which produce discord; that the unity of the Church demands the breaking up of outward organizations, when they openly espouse and persist in upholding a great wrong, and that they alone are the schismatics who elevate dogma above life and substitute an outward worldly establishment for the true Church of Christ.

Resolved, That this is not less the native land of the negro than the white man, and that a proposition to remove the former (to any other country) is in every way as unjust and impudent, as would be a proposition to remove the latter.

Resolved, That when the members, friends and supporters of the American Colonization Society shall manifest the same interest and solicitude for the moral, religious and mental well-being of the coloured people in the United States, as they now do for those in Africa, when they evince the same desire to make them doctors, lawyers, merchants, governors, presidents, judges and legislators in America, that they now do to make them such in Liberia, and when they will pour out half the tears over the horrors of the coastwise slave trade, which they now do over the not more atrocious foreign slave trade, it may then be time for the coloured people to begin to consider the question whether the Colonisation scheme, is a charitable or a wicked device, animated by heavenly love or demoniacal malice. But that for the present we advise the free coloured people to turn a deaf ear to all the Colonisation Agents—and to press forward in the work of self-improvement, and to build up a character for themselves which shall put to silence and to shame, those who now seek to drive them forth from their native land.

Resolved, That Slavery is a stupendous system of fraud and force, having no rightful existence anywhere—that it has no more right in the South than in the North—no more in Kentucky than in Ohio—and that the trade in which it originated was never legalized—and that both Slavery and the slave trade ought everywhere to be regarded and treated as a system of lawless violence.

Resolved, That there is a law higher than all the enactments of human codes—the same throughout the world the same in all time, and by that law, unchangeable and eternal. * * * * "Man cannot hold property in man"—and that when the Statutes of Legislature are subversive of this "higher law," it becomes the duty of good citizens to regard them as the edicts of foul conspirators against the rights and liberties of all mankind.

Resolved, That as for the Fugitive Slave Act, we loath and detest it, and will destroy it; that the panting fugitive shall never need bread when we can give it, nor shelter when we can afford it, nor help in his flight when we can render it, and we will hold in utter abhorrence the heartless man-hunter—whether he comes in his own, or in the name of the United States

Resolved, That the past actions and present indications of the whig and Democratic parties alike forbid the hope, that either of them can be won to the cause of freedom by voting and otherwise acting with them, that they are both sold and bound to the slave power, and are not to be wed by the friends of emancipation, but abandoned—not to be preserved but broken up and destroyed—for the reason that while they exist as national parties, they must look for success by means of the votes and co-operation of slaveholders, and will be controlled by slaveholders

Resolved, That the Whig and Democratic organizations have outlived the questions which called them into life, and organized their forces under their early champions; and that they have, therefore, no apology for their existence, thus lengthened out beyond its time, have the traditionary reverence of their votaries for names under which they once battled.

Resolved, That these organisations, headed by ambitious and mercenary leaders, are pitted against each other in a mere scramble for place and power; and that an unqualified and bare-faced submission to the behests of Slavery in all things, is the indispensable and openly avowed condition upon which their existence can be maintained.

Resolved, Therefore, that these organisations are not parties, but factions, the great band of republics, and that every lover of his country should labour by all honourable endeavours for their overthrow; not only because they are factions, but because they necessarily involve their supporters in the guilt of slaveholding, and thus become the strongholds of Slavery.

Resolved, That Slavery in this country is not Southern, but National, all parts of the country being implicated in its guilt, and bound to help in its overthrow.

Resolved, That he is a slaveholder, whether claiming to hold his brother as property or not, whose doing or whose not doing makes it easier for the oppressor to keep his prey, or harder for the oppressed to recover his rights.

Resolved, That any State which permits one man to use over another, within its jurisdiction, a power derived from and dependent on the relation of master and slave, is a slaveholding State.

Resolved, That, tried by this standard, every State of this Union is a slaveholding State, and the vast majority of the people, North as well as South, are slaveholders.

Resolved, That our sympathies are with the oppressed of all nations—that the cause of Hungary is dear to us—and that wherever man is trodden down and the tyrant is exalted we love the oppressed and loath the tyrant, and upon the same principle we plead the cause of the enslaved of our own land against their murderous holders.

Resolved, That the cause of oppression as well as the cause of freedom, is one, the world over. And that this truth has been amply illustrated by every step of the progress of Louis Kossuth through the slave States.

Resolved, That considering the large experience of the illustrious patriots, in the dungeons of Austria, his knowledge of the natural sympathies of tyrants and oppressors with their kind, all over the globe, it is passing strange and much to be regretted, that he did not see the absurdity of going on a mission of liberty among slaveholders, and have saved his cause the damage and himself the degradation which has befallen it and him.

Woman's Rights Convention.

To be held in the Horticultural Hall, West Chester, Chester, Co., Pa., on Wednesday and Thursday, the 2d and 3d of June, 1852.

The friends of Justice and Equal Rights are earnestly invited to assemble in Convention, to consider and discuss the present Position of Woman in Society, her Natural Rights and Relative Duties.

The reasons for such a Convention are obvious. With few exceptions, both the radical and conservative portions of

Miscellany.

VISITING AT CRANFORD.

ONE morning, as Miss Matey, and I sat at our work—it was before twelve o'clock, and Miss Matey had not yet changed the cap with yellow ribbons, that had been Miss Jenkyns' best, and which Miss Matey was now wearing out in private, putting on the one made in imitation of Mrs. Jamieson's at all times when she expected to be seen—Martha came up, and asked if Miss Betty Barker might speak to her mistress. Miss Matey assented, and quickly disappeared to change the yellow ribbons, while Miss Barker came up stairs; but, as she had forgotten her spectacles, and was rather flurried by the unusual time of the visit, I was not surprised to see her return with one cap on the top of the other. She was quite unconscious of it herself, and looked at us with bland satisfaction. Nor do I think Miss Barker perceived it; for, putting aside the little circumstance that she was not so young as she had been, she was very much absorbed in her errand; which she delivered herself of, with an oppressive modesty that found vent in endless apologies.

Miss Betty Barker was the daughter of the old clerk at Cranford, who had officiated in Mr. Jenkyns' time. She and her sister had had pretty good situations as ladies' maids, and had saved up money enough to set up a milliners' shop, which had been patronised by the ladies in the neighbourhood. Lady Arley, for instance, would occasionally give Miss Barkers the pattern of an old cap of hers, which they immediately copied and circulated among the *élite* of Cranford. I say the *élite*, for Miss Barkers had caught the trick of the place, and piqued themselves upon their "aristocratic connection." They would not sell their caps and ribbons to any one without a pedigree. Many a farmer's wife or daughter turned away huffed from Miss Barkers' select millinery, and went rather to the universal shop, where the profits of brown soap and moist sugar enabled the proprietor to go straight to (Paris, he said, until he found his customers too patriotic and John Bullish to wear what the Mounseers wore) London; where, as he often told his customers, Queen Adelaide had appeared only the very week before in a cap exactly like the one he showed them, trimmed with yellow and blue ribbons, and had been complimented by King William on the becoming nature of her head-dress.

Miss Barkers, who confined themselves to truth, and did not approve of miscellaneous customers, throve notwithstanding. They were self-denying, good people. Many a time have I seen the eldest of them (she that had been maid to Mrs. Jamieson) carrying out some delicate mess to a poor person. They only aped their betters in having "nothing to do" with the class immediately below theirs. And when Miss Barker died, their profits and income were found to be such that Miss Betty was justified in shutting up shop, and retiring from business. She also (as I think I have before said) set up her cow; a mark of respectability in Cranford, almost as decided as setting up a gig among some people. She dressed finer than any lady in Cranford; and we did not wonder at it; for it was understood that she was wearing out all the bonnets and caps, and outrageous ribbons, which had once formed her stock in trade. It was five or six years since they had given up shop: so in any other place than Cranford her dress might have been considered *passée*.

And now, Miss Betty Barker had called to invite Miss Matey to tea at her house on the following Tuesday. She gave me also an impromptu invitation, as I happened to be a visitor; though I could see she had a little fear lest, since my father had gone to live in Drumble, he might have engaged in that "horrid cotton trade," and so dragged his family down out of "aristocratic society." She prefaced this invitation with so many apologies, that she quite excited my curiosity. "Her presumption" was to be excused. What had she been doing? She seemed so overpowered by it, I could only think that she had been writing to Queen Adelaide, to ask for a receipt for washing lace; but the act which she so characterized was only an invitation she had carried to her sister's former mistress, Mrs. Jamieson. "Her former occupation considered, could Miss Matey excuse the liberty?" Ah! thought I, she has found out that double cap, and is going to rectify Miss Matey' head-dress. No! it was simply to extend her invitation to Miss Matey and to me. Miss Matey bowed acceptance; and I wondered that, in the graceful action, she did not feel the unusual weight and extraordinary height of her head-dress. But I do not think she did; for she recovered her balance, and went on talking to Miss Betty in a kind, condescending manner, very different from the fidgety way she would have had if she had suspected how singular her appearance was.

"Mrs. Jamieson is coming, I think you said?" asked Miss Matey.

"Yes. Mrs Jamieson most kindly and condescendingly said she would be happy to come. One little stipulation she made, that she should bring Carlo. I told her that if I had a weakness, it was for dogs."

"And Miss Pole?" questioned Miss Matey, who was thinking of her pool at Preference, in which Carlo would not be available as a partner.

"I am going to ask Miss Pole. Of course, I could not think of asking her until I had asked you, Madam—the rector's daughter, Madam. Believe me, I do not forget the situation my father held under yours."

"And Mrs. Forrester, of course?"

"And Mrs. Forrester. I thought, in fact, of going to her before I went to Miss Pole. Although her circumstances are changed, Madam, we can never forget her alliance to the Bigges, of Bigelow Hall."

Miss Matey cared much more for the little circumstance of her being a very good card-player.

"Mrs. Fitz-Adam—I suppose"—

"No, Madam. I must draw a line somewhere. Mrs. Jamieson would not, I think, like to meet Mrs. Fitz-Adam. I have the greatest respect for Mrs. Fitz-Adam—but I cannot think her fit society for such ladies as Mrs. Jamieson and Miss Matilda Jenkyns."

Miss Betty Barker bowed low to Miss Matey, and pursed up her mouth. She looked at me with side-long dignity, as much as to say, although a retired milliner, she was no democrat, and understood the difference of ranks.

"May I beg you to come as near half-past six, to my little dwelling, as possible, Miss Matilda? Mrs. Jamieson dines at five, but has kinly promised not to delay her visit beyond that time—half-past six." And with a swimming curtsey Miss Betty Barker took her leave.

My prophetic soul foretold a visit that afternoon from Miss Pole, who usually came to call on Miss Matilda after any event—or indeed in sight of any event—to talk it over with her.

"Miss Betty told me it was to be a choice and select few," said Miss Pole, as she and Miss Matey compared notes.

"Yes, so she said Not even Mrs. Eitz-Adam."

Now Mrs. Fitz-Adam was the widowed sister of the Cranford surgeon, whom I have named before. Their parents were respectable farmers, content with their station. The name of these good people was Hoggins. Mr. Hoggins was the Cranford doctor now; we disliked the name, and considered it coarse—but, as Miss Jenkyns said, if he changed it to Piggins, it would not be much better. We had hoped to discover a relationship between him and that Marchioness of Exeter whose name was Molly Hoggins; but the man, careless of his own interests, utterly ignored and denied any such relationship; although, as dear Miss Jenkyns had said, he had a sister called Mary, and the same Christian names were very apt to run in families. Soon after Miss Mary Hoggins married Mr. Fitz-Adam, she disappeared from the neighbourhood for many years. She did not move in a sphere in Cranford society sufficiently high to make any of us care to know what Mr. Fitz-Adam was. He died and was gathered to his fathers, without our ever having thought about him at all. And then Mrs. Fitz-Adam reappeared in Cranford, "as bold as a lion," Miss Pole said, a well-to-do widow, dressed in rustling black silk, so soon after her husband's death, that poor Miss Jenkyns was justified in the remark she made, that "bombazine would have shown a deeper sense of her loss."

I remember the convocation of ladies, who assembled to decide whether or not Mrs. Fitz-Adam should be called upon by the old blue-blooded inhabitants of Cranford. She had taken a large rambling house, which had been usually considered to confer a patent of gentility upon its tenant; because, once upon a time, seventy or eighty years before, the spinster daughter of an earl had resided in it. I am not sure if the inhabiting this house was not also believed to convey some unusual power of intellect; for the earl's daughter, Lady Jane, had had a sister, Lady Anne, who had married a general officer, in the time of the American war; and this general officer had written one or two comedies, which were still acted on the London boards; and which, when we saw them advertised, made us all draw up, and feel that Drury Lane was paying a very pretty compliment to Cranford. Still, it was not at all a settled thing that Mrs. Fitz-Adam was to be visited, when dear Miss Jenkyns died; and, with her, something of the clear knowledge of the strict code of gentility went out too. As Miss Pole observed, "As most of the ladies of good family in Cranford were elderly spinsters, or widows without children, if we did not relax a little, and become less exclusive, by-and-bye we should have no society at all."

Mrs. Forrester continued on the same side.

"She had always understood that Fitz meant something aristocratic; there was Fitz-Roy—she thought that some of the King's children had been called Fitz-Roy: and there was Fitz-Clarence now—they were the children of dear good King William the Fourth. Fitz-Adam!—it was a pretty name; and she thought it very probably meant 'Child of Adam.' No one, who had not some good blood in their veins, would dare to be called Fitz; there was a deal in a name—she had had a cousin who spelt his name with two little ffs—ffoulkes, and he always looked down upon capital letters, and said they belonged to lately invented families. She had been afraid he would die a bachelor, he was so very choice. When he met with a Mrs. ffaringdon, at a watering-place, he took to her immediately; and a very pretty genteel woman she was—a widow with a very good fortune—and 'my cousin,' Mr. ffoulkes, married her; and it was all owing to her two little ffs."

Mrs. Fitz-Adam did not stand a chance of meeting with a Mr. Fitz-anything in Cranford, so that could not have been her motive for settling there. Miss Matey thought it might have been the hope of being admitted in the society of the place, which would certainly be a very agreeable rise for *ci-devant* Miss Hoggins; and if this had been her hope, it would be cruel to disappoint her. So everybody called upon Mrs. Fitz-Adam—everybody but Mrs. Jamieson, who used to show how honourable she was by never seeing Mrs. Fitz-Adam, when they met at the Cranford parties. There would be only eight or ten ladies in the room, and Mrs. Fitz-Adam was the largest of all, and she invariably used to stand up when Mrs. Jamieson came in, and curtsey very low to her whenever she turned in her direction—so low, in fact, that I think Mrs. Jamieson must have looked at the wall above her, for she never moved a muscle of her face, no more than if she had not seen her. Still Mrs. Fitz-Adam persevered.

The spring evenings were getting bright and long, when three or four ladies in calashes met at Miss Barker's door. Do you know what a calash is? It is a covering worn over caps, not unlike the heads fastened on old-fashioned gigs; but sometimes it is not quite so large. This kind of head-gear always made an awful impression on the children in Cranford; and now two or three left off their play in the quiet sunny little street, and gathered, in wondering silence, round Miss Pole, Miss Matey, and myself. We were silent, too, so that we could hear loud, suppressed whispers, inside Miss Barker's house: "Wait, Peggy! wait till I've run upstairs, and washed my hands. When I cough, open the door; I'll not be a minute."

And, true enough, it was not a minute before we heard a noise, between a sneeze and a crow; on which the door flew open. Behind it stood a round-eyed maiden, all aghast at the honourable company of calashes, who marched in without a word. She recovered presence of mind enough to usher us into a small room, which had been the shop, but was now converted into a temporary dressing-room. There we unpinned and shook ourselves, and arranged our features before the glass into a sweet and gracious company-face; and then, bowing backwards with "After you, ma'am," we allowed Mrs. Forrester to take precedence up the narrow staircase that led to Miss Barker's drawing-room. There she sat, as stately and composed as though we had never heard that odd-sounding cough, from which her throat must have been even then sore and rough. Kind, gentle, shabbily dressed Mrs. Forrester was immediately conducted to the second place of honour—a seat arranged something like Prince Albert's near the Queen's—good, but not so good. The place of pre-eminence was, of course, reserved for the Honourable Mrs. Jamieson, who presently came panting up the stairs—Carlo rushing round her on her progress, as if he meant to trip her up.

And now, Miss Betty Barker was a proud and happy woman! She stirred the fire, and shut the door, and sat as near to it as she could, quite on the edge of her chair. When Peggy came in, tottering under the weight of the tea-tray, I noticed that Miss Barker was sadly afraid lest Peggy should not keep her distance sufficiently. She and her mistress were on very familiar terms in their every-day intercourse, and Peggy wanted now to make several little confidences to her, which Miss Barker was on thorns to hear; but which she thought it her duty, as a lady, to repress. So she turned away from all Peggy's asides and signs; but she made one or two very mal-apropos answers to what was said; and at last, seized with a bright idea, she exclaimed, "Poor sweet Carlo! I'm forgetting him. Come down stairs with me, poor ittie doggie, and it shall have its tea, it shall!" In a few minutes she returned, bland and benignant as before; but I thought she had forgotten to give the "poor ittie doggie" anything to eat; judging by the avidity with which he swallowed down chance pieces of cake. The tea-tray was abundantly loaded. I was pleased to see it, I was so hungry; but I was afraid the ladies present might think it vulgarly heaped up. I know they would have done so at their own houses, but somehow the heaps disappeared here. I saw Mrs. Jamieson eating seed-cake, slowly and considerately, as she did everything; and I was rather surprised, for I knew she had told us, on the occasion of her last party, that she never had it in her house, it reminded her so much of scented soap. She always gave us Savoy biscuits. However, Mrs. Jamieson was kindly indulgent to Miss Barker's want of knowledge of the customs of high life; and, to spare her feelings, ate three large pieces of seed-cake, with a placid, ruminating expression of countenance, not unlike a cow's.

After tea there was some little demur and difficulty. We were six in number; four could play at Preference, and for the other two there was Cribbage. But all, except myself—I was always rather afraid of the Cranford ladies at cards, for it was the most earnest and serious business they ever engaged in—were anxious to be of the "pool." Even Miss Barker, while declaring she did not know Spadille from Manille, was evidently hankering to take a hand. The dilemma was soon put an end to by a singular kind of noise. If a Baron's daughter-in-law could ever be supposed to snore, I should have said Mrs. Jamieson did so then; for, overcome by the heat of the room, and inclined to doze by nature, the temptation of that very comfortable arm-chair had been too much for her, and Mrs. Jamieson was nodding. Once or twice she opened her eyes with an effort, and calmly but unconsciously smiled upon us; but, by-and-bye, even her benevolence was not equal to this exertion, and she was sound asleep.

"It is very gratifying to me," whispered Miss Barker at the card-table to her three opponents, whom, notwithstanding her ignorance of the game, she was "basting" most unmercifully—"very gratifying, indeed, to see how completely Mrs. Jamieson feels at home in my poor little dwelling; she could not have paid me a greater compliment." Miss Barker provided me with some literature, in the shape of three or four handsomely bound fashion-books ten or twelve years old, observing, as she put a little table and a candle for my especial benefit, that she knew young people liked to look at pictures. Carlo lay, and snorted, and started at his mistress' feet. He, too, was quite at home. The card-table was an animated scene to watch; four ladies' heads, with niddle-noddling caps, all nearly meeting over the middle of the table, in their eagerness to whisper quick enough and loud enough: and every now and then came Miss Barker's "Hush, ladies! if you please, hush! Mrs. Jamieson is asleep."

It was very difficult to steer clear between Mrs. Forrester's deafness and Mrs. Jamieson's sleepiness. But Miss Barker managed her arduous task well. She repeated the whisper to Mrs. Forrester, distorting her face considerably, in order to show, by the motions of her lips, what was said; and then she smiled kindly all round at us, and murmured to herself, "Very gratifying, indeed; I wish my poor sister had been alive to see this day."

Presently the door was thrown wide open; Carlo started to his feet, with a loud snapping bark, and Mrs. Jamieson awoke: or, perhaps, she had not been asleep—as she said almost directly, the room had been so light she had been glad to keep her eyes shut, but had been listening with great interest to all our amusing and agreeable conversation. Peggy came in once more, red with importance. Another tray! "Oh, gentility!" thought I, "can you endure this last shock?" For Miss Barker had ordered (nay, I doubt not, prepared, although she did say, "Why! Peggy, what have you brought us?" and looked pleasantly surprised at the unexpected pleasure) all sort of good things for supper—scalloped oysters, potted lobsters, jelly, a dish called "little Cupids" (which was in great favour with the Cranford ladies, although too expensive to be given, except on solemn and state occasions), maccaroons sopped in brandy, I should have called it, if I had not known its more refined and classical name; in short, we were evidently to be feasted with all that was sweetest and best; and we thought it better to submit graciously, even at the cost of our gentility—which never ate suppers in general—but which, like most non-supper-eaters, was particularly hungry on all special occasions.

Miss Barker, in her former sphere, had, I dare say, been made acquainted with the beverage they call cherry-brandy. We none of us had ever seen such a thing, and rather shrunk back when she proffered it us—"just a little, leetle glass, ladies; after the oysters and lobsters, you know. Shell-fish are sometimes thought not very wholesome." We all shook our heads, like female mandarins; but, at last, Mrs. Jamieson suffered herself to be persuaded, and we followed her lead. It was not exactly unpalatable, though so hot and so strong that we thought ourselves bound to give evidence that we were not accustomed to such things, by coughing terribly—almost as strangely as Miss Barker had done, before we were admitted by Peggy.

"It's very strong," said Miss Pole, as she put down her empty glass; I do believe there's spirit in it."

"Only a little drop—just necessary to make it keep!" said Miss Barker. "You know we put brandy-paper over preserves to make them keep. I often feel tipsy myself from eating damsom tart."

I question whether damson tart would have opened Mrs. Jamieson's heart as the cherry-brandy did; but she told us of a coming event, respecting which she had been quite silent till that moment.

"My sister-in-law, Lady Glenmire, is coming to stay with me."

There was a chorus of "Indeed!" and then a pause. Each one rapidly reviewed her wardrobe, as to its fitness to appear in the presence of a Baron's widow; for, of course, a series of small festivals were always held in Cranford on the arrival of a visitor at any of our friends' houses. We felt very pleasantly excited on the present occasion.

Not long after this, the maids and the lanterns were announced. Mrs. Jamieson had the sedan chair, which had squeezed itself into Miss Barker's narrow lobby with some difficulty; and, most literally, stopped the way. It required some skilful manœuvering on the part of the old chairmen (shoemakers; but, when summoned to carry the sedan, dressed up in a strange old livery—long great-coats, with small capes, coeval with the sedan, and similar to the dress of the class in Hogarth's pictures) to edge, and back, and try at it again, and finally to succeed in carrying their burden out of Miss Barker's front-door. Then we heard their quick pit-a-pat along the quiet little street, as we put on our calashes, and pinned up our gowns; Miss Barker hovering about us with offers of help; which, if she had not remembered her former occupation, and wished us to forget it, would have been much more pressing.

Early the next morning—directly after twelve—Miss Pole made her appearance at Miss Matey's. Some very trifling piece of business was alleged as a reason for the call; but there was evidently something behind. At last out it came.

"By the way, you'll think I'm strangely ignorant; but, do you really know, I am puzzled how we ought to address Lady Glenmire. Do you say, 'Your Ladyship,' where you would say 'you' to a common person? I have been puzzling all the morning; and are we to say 'My Lady,' instead of 'Ma'am'? Now, you know Lady Arley—will you tell me the most correct way of speaking to the Peerage?"

Poor Miss Matey! she took off her spectacles, and she put them on again—but how Lady Arley was addressed, she could not remember.

"It is so long ago!" she said. "r! dear! how stupid I am! I don't think I ever saw her more than twice. I know we used to call Sir Peter, 'Sir Peter,'—but he came much oftener to see us than Lady Arley did. Deborah would have known in a minute. My lady—your ladyship. It sounds very strange, and as if it was not natural. I never thought of it before; but, now you have named it, I am all in a puzzle."

It was very certain Miss Pole would obtain no wise decision from Miss Matey, who got more bewildered every moment, and more perplexed as to ettiquettes of address.

"Well, I really think," said Miss Pole, "I had better just go and tell Mrs. Forrester about our little difficulty. One sometimes grows nervous; and yet one would not have Lady Glenmire think we were quite ignorant of the etiquettes of high life in Cranford."

"And will you just step in here, dear Miss Pole, as you come back, please; and tell me what you decide upon. Whatever you and Mrs. Forrester fix upon, will be quite right, I'm sure. 'Lady Arley,' 'Sir Peter,'" said Miss Matey to herself, trying to recall the old forms of words.

"Who is Lady Glenmire?" asked I.

"Oh! she's the widow of Mr. Jamieson—that's Mrs. Jamieson's late husband, you know—widow of his eldest brother. Mrs. Jamieson was a Miss Walker, daughter of Governor Walker. Your ladyship. My dear, if they fix on that way of speaking, you must just let me practice a little on you first, for I shall feel so foolish and hot, saying it the first time to Lady Glenmire."

It was really a relief to Miss Matey when Mrs. Jamieson came on a very unpolite errand. I notice that apathetic people have more quiet impertinence than any others; and Mrs. Jamieson came now to insinuate pretty plainly, that she did not particularly wish that the Cranford ladies should call upon her sister-in-law. I can hardly say how she made this clear; for I grew very indignant and warm, while with slow deliberation she was explaining her wishes to Miss Matey, who, a true lady herself, could hardly understand the feeling which made Mrs. Jamieson wish to appear to her noble sister-in-law as if she only visited "county" families; Miss Matey remained puzzled and perplexed long after I had found out the object of Mrs. Jamieson's visit.

When she did understand the drift of the honourable lady's call, it was pretty to see with what quiet dignity she received the intimation thus courteously given. She was not in the least hurt—for she was of too gentle a spirit for that; nor was she exactly conscious of disapproving of Mrs. Jamieson's conduct; but there was something of this feeling in her mind, I am sure, which made her pass from the subject to others, in a less flurried and more composed manner than usual. Mrs. Jamieson was, indeed, the more flurried of the two, and I could see she was glad to take her leave.

A little while afterwards, Miss Pole returned, red and indignant. "Well! to be sure! You've had Mrs. Jamieson here, I find from Martha; and we are not to call on Lady Glenmire. Yes! I met Mrs. Jamieson half-way between here and Mrs. Forrester's, and she told me; she took me so by surprise, I had nothing to say. I wish I had thought of something very sharp and sarcastic; I dare say I shall to-night. And Lady Glenmire is but the widow of a Scotch baron, after all! I went on to look at Mrs. Forrester's Peerage, to see who this lady was, that is to be kept under a glass-case: widow of a Scotch peer—never sat in the House of Lords—and as poor as Job, I dare say; and she—fifth daughter of some Mr. Campbell or other. You are the daughter of a rector, at any rate, and related to the Arleys; and Sir Peter might have been Viscount Arley, every one says."

Miss Matey tried to soothe Miss Pole, but in vain. That lady, usually so kind and good-humoured, was now in full flow of anger.

"And I went and ordered a cap this morning, to be quite ready," she said, at last, letting out the secret which gave sting to Mrs. Jamieson's intimation. "Mrs. Jamieson shall see if it's so easy to get me to make fourth at a pool, when she has none of her fine Scotch relations with her!"

In coming out of church, the first Sunday on which Lady Glenmire appeared in Cranford, we sedulously talked together, and turned our backs on Mrs. Jamieson and her guest. If we might not call on her, we would not even look at her, though we were dying with curiosity to know what she was like. We had the comfort of questioning Martha in the afternoon. Martha did not belong to a sphere of society whose observation could be an implied compliment to Lady Glenmire, and Martha had made good use of her eyes.

"Well, ma'am! is it the little lady with Mrs. Jamieson, you mean? I thought you would like more to know how young Mrs. Smith was dressed, her being a bride." (Mrs. Smith was the butcher's wife.)

Miss Pole said, "Good gracious me! as if we cared about a Mrs. Smith;" but was silent, as Martha resumed her speech.

"The little lady in Mrs. Jamieson's pew had on, ma'am, rather an old black silk, and a shepherd's plaid cloak, ma'am; and very bright black eyes, she had, ma'am, and a pleasant, sharp face; not over young, ma'am, but yet, I should guess, younger than Mrs. Jamieson herself. She looked up and down the church, like a bird, and nipped up her petticoats, when she came out, as quick and sharp as ever I see. I'll tell you what, ma'am, she's more like Mrs. Deacon, at the 'Coach and Horses,' nor any one."

"Hush, Martha!" said Miss Matey; "that's not respectful."

"Isn't it, ma'am? I beg pardon, I'm sure; but Jem Hearn said so as well. He said she was just such a sharp, stirring sort of a body"—

"Lady," said Miss Pole.

"Lady—as Mrs. Deacon."

Another Sunday passed away, and we still averted our eyes from Mrs. Jamieson and her guest, and made remarks to ourselves that we thought were very severe—almost too much so. Miss Matey was evidently uneasy at our sarcastic manner of speaking.

Perhaps by this time Lady Glenmire had found out that Mrs. Jamieson's was not the gayest, liveliest house in the world: perhaps Mrs. Jamieson had found out that most of the county families were in London, and that those who remained in ——shire were not so alive as they might have been to the circumstance of Lady Glenmire being in their neighbourhood. Great events grow out of small causes; so I will not pretend to say what induced Mrs. Jamieson to alter her determination of excluding the Cranford ladies, and send notes of invitation all round for a party, on the following Tuesday. Mr. Mulliner himself brought them round. He *would* always ignore the fact of there being a back-door to any house, and gave a louder rat-tat than his mistress, Mrs. Jamieson. He had three little notes, which he carried in a large basket, in order to impress his mistress with an idea of their great weight, though they might easily have gone into his waistcoat pocket.

Miss Matey and I quietly decided we would have a previous engagement at home:—it was the evening on which Miss Matey usually made candle-lighters of all the notes of the week; for on Mondays her accounts were always made straight—not a penny owing from the week before; so, by a natural arrangement, making candle-lighters fell upon a Tuesday evening, and gave us a legitimate excuse for declining Mrs. Jamieson's invitation. But before our answer was written, in came Miss Pole, with an open note in her hand.

"So!" she said. "Ah! I see you have got your note, too. Better late than never. I could have told my Lady Glenmire she would be glad enough of our society before a fortnight was over."

"Yes," said Miss Matey, "we're asked for Tuesday night. And perhaps you would just kindly bring your work across and drink tea with us that night. It is my usual regular time for looking over all the last week's bills, and notes, and letters, and making candle-lighters of them; but that does not seem quite reason enough for saying I have a previous engagement at home, though I meant to make it do. Now, if you would come, my conscience would be quite at ease, and luckily the note is not written yet."

I saw Miss Pole's countenance change while Miss Matey was speaking.

"Don't you mean to go then?" asked she.

"Oh no!" said Miss Matey, quietly. "You don't either, I suppose?"

"I don't know," replied Miss Pole. "Yes, I think I do," said she, rather briskly; and, on seeing Miss Matey look surprised, she added, "You see, one would not like Mrs. Jamieson to think that anything she could do, or say, was of consequence enough to give offence; it would be a kind of letting down of ourselves, that I, for one, should not like. It would be too flattering to Mrs. Jamieson, if we allowed her to suppose that what she had said affected us a week, nay ten days afterwards."

"Well! I suppose it is wrong to be hurt and annoyed so long about anything; and, perhaps, after all, she did not mean to vex us. But I must say, I could not have brought myself to say the things Mrs. Jamieson did about our not calling. I really don't think I shall go."

"Oh, come! Miss Matey, you must go; you know our friend Mrs. Jamieson is much more phlegmatic than most people, and does not enter into the little delicacies of feeling which you possess in so remarkable a degree."

"I thought you possessed them, too, that day Mrs Jamieson called to tell us not to go," said Miss Matey, innocently.

But Miss Pole, in addition to her delicacies of feeling possessed a very smart cap, which she was anxious to show to an admiring world; and so she seemed to forget all her angry words uttered not a fortnight before, and to be ready to act on what she called the great Christian principle of "Forgive and forget;" and she lectured dear Miss Matey so long on this head, that she absolutely ended by assuring her that it was her duty, as a deceased rector's daughter, to buy a new cap, and go to the party at Mrs. Jamieson. So "we were most happy to accept," instead of "regretting that we were obliged to decline."

The expenditure in dress in Cranford was principally in that one article referred to. If the heads were buried in smart new caps, the ladies were like ostriches, and cared not what became of their bodies Old gowns, white and venerable collars, any number of brooches, up and down and everywhere (some with dogs' eyes painted in them: some that were like small picture-frames with mausoleums and weeping-willows neatly executed in hair inside; some, again, with miniatures of ladies and gentlemen sweetly smiling out of a nest of stiff muslin)—old brooches for a permanent ornament, and new caps to suit the fashion of the day; the ladies of Cranford always dressed with chaste elegance and propriety, as Miss Barker once prettily expressed it. And with three new caps, and a greater array of brooches than had ever been seen together at one time, since Cranford was a town, did Mrs. Forrester, and Miss Matey, and Miss Pole appear on that memorable Tuesday evening. I counted seven brooches myself on Miss Pole's dress. Two were fixed negligently in her cap (one was a butterfly made of Scotch pebbles, which a vivid imagination might believe to be the real insect); one fastened her net neck-kerchief; one her collar; one ornamented the front of her gown, midway between her throat and waist; and another adorned the point of her stomacher. Where the seventh was I have forgotten, but it was somewhere about her, I am sure.

But I am getting on too fast, in describing the dresses of the company. I should first relate the gathering, on the way to Mrs. Jamieson's. That lady lived in a large house just outside the town. A road, which had known what it was to be a street, ran right before the house, which opened out upon it, without any intervening garden or court. What ever the sun was about, he never shone on the front of that house. To be sure, the living-rooms were at the back, looking on to a pleasant garden; the front windows only belonged to kitchens and housekeeper's rooms, and pantries; and in one of them Mr. Mulliner was reported to sit. Indeed, looking askance, we often saw the back of a head, covered with hair-powder, which also extended itself over his coat-collar down to his very waist; and this imposing back was always engaged in reading the "St. James's Chronicle," opened wide, which, in some degree, accounted for the length of time the said newspaper was in reaching us—equal subscribers with Mrs. Jamieson, though, in right of her honourableness, she always had the reading of it first. This very Tuesday, the delay in forwarding the last number had been particularly aggravating; just when both Miss Pole and Miss Matey, the former more especially, had been wanting to see it, in order to coach up the court-news, ready for the evening's interview with aristocracy. Miss Pole told us she had absolutely taken time by the fore-lock, and been dressed by five o'clock, in order to be ready, if the "St. James's Chronicle" should come in at the last moment, the very "St. James's Chronicle" which the powdered-head was tranquilly and composedly reading as we passed the accustomed window this evening.

"The impudence of man!" said Miss Pole, in a low indignant whisper. "I should like to ask him, whether his mistress pays her quarter-share for his exclusive use."

We looked at her in admiration of the courage of her thought; for Mr Mulliner was an object of great awe to all of us. He seemed never to have forgotten his condescension in coming to live at Cranford. Miss Jenkyns, at times, had stood forth as the undaunted champion of her sex, and spoken to him on terms of equality; but even Miss Jenkyns could get no higher. In his pleasantest and most gracious moods, he looked like a sulky cockatoo. He did not speak except in gruff monosyllables. He would wait in the hall when we begged him not to wait, and then look deeply offended because we had kept him there, while, with trembling, hasty hands, we prepared ourselves for appearing in company. Miss Pole ventured on a small joke as we went up-stairs, intended, though addressed to us, to afford Mr. Mulliner some slight amusement. We all smiled, in order to seem as if we felt at our ease, and timidly looked for Mr. Mulliner's sympathy. Not a muscle of that wooden face had relaxed; and we were grave in an instant.

Mrs. Jamieson's drawing-room was cheerful; the evening sun came streaming into it, and the large square window was clustered round with flowers. The furniture was white and gold; not the later style, Louis Quatorze I think they call it, all shells and twirls; no. Mrs. Jamieson's chairs and tables had not a curve or bend about them. The chair and table legs diminished as they neared the ground, and were straight and square in all their corners. The chairs were all a-row against the walls, with the exception of four or five which stood in a circle round the fire. They were railed with white bars across the back, and knobbed with gold; neither the railings nor the knobs invited to ease. There was a japanned table devoted to literature, on which lay a Bible, a peerage, and a Prayer-Book. There was another square Pembroke table dedicated to the Fine Arts, on which there was a kaleidoscope, conversation-cards, puzzle-cards (tied together to an interminable length with faded pink satin ribbon), and a box painted in fond imitation of the drawings which decorate tea-chests. Carlo lay on the worsted work rug, and ungraciously barked at us as we entered. Mrs. Jamieson stood up, giving us each a torpid smile of welcome, and looking helplessly beyond us at Mr. Mulliner, as if she hoped he would place us in chairs, for if he did not, she never could. I suppose he thought we could find our way to the circle round the fire, which reminded me of Stonehenge, I don't know why. Lady Glenmire came to the rescue of our hostess; and somehow or other we found ourselves for the first time placed agreeably, and not formally, in Mrs. Jamieson's house. Lady Glenmire, now we had time to look at her, proved to be a bright little woman of middle age, who had been very pretty in the days of her youth, and who was even yet very pleasant-looking. I saw Miss Pole appraising her dress in the first five minutes; and I take her word, when she said the next day,

"My dear! ten pounds would have purchased every stitch she had on—lace and all."

It was pleasant to suspect that a peeress could be poor, and partly reconciled us to the fact that her husband had never sat in the House of Lords; which, when we first heard of it, seemed a kind of swindling us out of our respect on false pretences; a sort of "A Lord and No Lord" business.

We were all very silent at first. We were thinking what we could talk about, that should be high enough to interest My Lady. There had been a rise in the price of sugar, which, as preserving-time was near, was a piece of intelligence to all our housekeeping hearts, and would have been the natural topic if Lady Glenmire had not been by. But we were not sure if the Peerage ate preserves—much less knew how they were made. At last, Miss Pole, who had always a great deal of courage and *savoir faire*, spoke to Lady Glenmire, who on her part had seemed just as much puzzled to know how to break the silence as we were.

"Has your ladyship been to Court, lately?" asked she; and then gave a little glance round at us, half timid, and half triumphant, as much as to say, "See how judiciously I have chosen a subject befitting the rank of the stranger!"

"I never was there in my life," said Lady Glenmire, with a broad Scotch accent, but in a very sweet voice. And then, as if she had been too abrupt, she added, "We very seldom went to London; only twice, in fact, during all my married life; and before I was married, my father had far too large a family" (fifth daughter of Mr. Compbell, was in all our minds, I am sure)—"to take us often from our home, even to Edinburgh. Ye'll have been in Edinburgh, may be?" said she, suddenly brightening up with the hope of a common interest. We had none of us been there; but Miss Pole had an uncle who once had passed a night there, which was very pleasant.

Mrs. Jamieson, meanwhile, was absorbed in wonder why Mr. Mulliner did not bring the tea; and, at length, the wonder oozed out of her mouth.

"I had better ring the bell, my dear, had not I?" said Lady Glenmire, briskly.

"No—I think not—Mulliner does not like to be hurried." We should have liked our tea, for we dined at an earlier hour than Mrs. Jamieson. I suspect Mr. Mulliner had to finish the St. James's Chronicle before he chose to trouble himself about tea. His mistress fidgetted, and kept saying, "I can't think why Mulliner does not bring tea. I can't think what he can be about." And Lady Glenmire at last grew quite impatient, but it was a pretty kind of impatience after all; and she rung the bell rather sharply, on receiving a half permission from her sister-in-law to do so. Mr. Mulliner appeared in dignified surprise. "Oh!" said Mrs. Jamieson, "Lady Glenmire rang the bell; I believe it was for tea."

In a few minutes tea was brought. Very delicate was the china, very old the plate, very thin the bread-and-butter, and very small the lumps of sugar. Sugar was evidently Mrs. Jamieson's favourite economy. I question if the little filigree sugar-tongs, made something like scissors, could have opened themselves wide enough to take up an honest, vulgar, good-sized piece; and when, I tried to take two little minikin pieces at once, so as not to be detected in too many returns to the sugar-basin, they absolutely dropped one, with a little-sharp clatter, quite in a malicious and unnatural manner. But before this happened, we had had a slight disappointment. In the little silver jug was cream, in the larger one was milk. As soon as Mr. Mulliner came in, Carlo began to beg, which was a thing our manners forbade us to do, though I am sure we were just as hungry; and Mrs. Jamieson said she was certain we would excuse her if she gave her poor dumb Carlo his tea first. She accordingly mixed a saucer-full for him, and put it down for him to lap; and then she told us how intelligent and sensible the dear little fellow was: he knew cream quite well, and constantly refused tea with only milk in it: so the milk was left for us, but we silently thought we were quite as intelligent and sensible as Carlo, and felt as if insult were added to injury, when we were called upon to admire the gratitude evinced by his wagging his tail for the cream, which should have been ours.

After tea we thawed down into common-life subjects. We were thankful to Lady Glenmire for having proposed some more bread-and-butter, and this mutual want made us better acquainted with her than we should ever have been with talking about the Court, though Miss Pole did say, she had hoped to know how the dear Queen was from some one who had seen her. The friendship begun over bread-and-butter, extended on to cards. Lady Glenmire played Preference to admiration, and was a complete authority as to Ombre and Quadrille. Even Miss Pole quite forgot to say "my lady," and "your ladyship," and said "Basto! ma'am;" "you have Spadille, I believe," just as quietly as if we had never held the great Cranford parliament on the subject of the proper mode of addressing a peeress.

As a proof of how thoroughly we had forgotten that we were in the presence of one who might have sat down to tea with a coronet, instead of a cap, on her head, Mrs. Forrester related a curious little fact to Lady Glenmire—an anecdote known to the circle of her intimate friends, but of which even Mrs. Jamieson was not aware. It related to some fine old lace, the sole relic of better days, which Lady Glenmire was admiring on Mrs. Forrester's collar.

"Yes," said that lady, "such lace cannot be got now for either love or money; made by the nuns abroad they tell me. They say that they can't make it now even there. But, perhaps, they can, now they've passed the Catholic Emancipation Bill. I should not wonder. But in the meantime, I treasure up my lace very much. I daren't even trust the washing of it to my maid" (the little charity school-girl I have named before, but who sounded well as "my maid"). "I always wash it myself. Of course, your ladyship knows that such lace must never be starched or ironed; some people wash it in sugar and water; and some in coffee, to make it the right yellow colour; but I myself have a very good receipt for washing it in milk, which stiffens it enough, and gives it a very good creamy colour. Well, ma'am, I had tacked it together (and the beauty of this fine lace is, and when it is wet, it grows into a very little space), and put it to soak in milk, when, unfortunately I left the room; on my return, I found pussy on the table, looking very like a thief, but gulping very uncomfortably, as if she was half-choked with something she wanted to swallow, and could not. And, would you believe it? At first, I pitied her, and said, 'Poor pussy! poor pussy!' till, all at once, I looked and saw the cup of milk empty—cleaned out! 'You naughty cat!' said I; and I believe I was provoked enough to give her a slap, which did no good, but only helped the lace down—just as one slaps a choking child on the back. I could have cried, I was so vexed; but I determined I would not give the lace up without a struggle for it. I hoped the lace might disagree with her, at any rate; but it would have been too much for Job, if he had seen, as I did, that cat come in, quite placid and purring, not a quarter of an hour after, and almost expecting